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GENEALOGY COLLECTION









HISTORY OF CALIFORNIA







D JOSÉ DE GALVEZ

Marques de la Sonora

Visitador de la Nueva España, y despues Ministro Universal de Indias.

History of California

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JOSÉ DE GÁLVEZ

Visitador General of the Kingdom and Marquis of Sonora.

Born at Velez, Malaga, 1725; died at Madrid, 1787.

From Alaman's "Disertaciones sobre La Historia de la Republica Megicana."

History of California

EDITED BY ZOETH SKINNER ELDREDGE

VOLUME ONE



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INTRODUCTION

T is the intention of the writers of these volumes to give in simple narrative the story of California. more interesting it may be and more romantic than that of any other state of the union; to give in proper sequence the procession of events which culminated in the blending of the ancient streams of Spanish and English colonization to form an American state. There is so much of wonder and of interest in the history of California; so much that seems strange and remote to the American of Anglo-Saxon or Teutonic descent that altogether the story of this California of ours is most fascinating. For instance: there was the establishment and the life of the missions which seem to carry one back to the medieval period—to the time when the traveler rode up to the monastery gate and craved entertainment for himself and his beast. Then there was the establishment of feudalism in California —for the system of land grants under Spanish and Mexican rule was distinctly feudal, and the holder of the fee held himself ready, with horse, lance, and other arms and equipment, to march at the command of his lord, the governor.

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That a land so fertile, so capable of sustaining a large population, so favored by nature in every way, should be so neglected by Spain was the continual wonder of travelers. In its physical characteristics it is a land of surprises and of unending delight, and among the peculiarities of climate, one is that latitude appears to

have little to do with temperature, and the evidence is that Oroville, six degrees of latitude north of Los Angeles, is six weeks earlier in orange shipments than the districts of southern California.

In the southern part of the state, near Los Angeles, there is a lake of asphalt, a trap which nature set for living creatures, which has been found to contain in a perfect state of preservation the largest collection of extinct animals and flying creatures of the Pleistocene age the world has ever seen. The flora of California is as remarkable as its fauna, and in its mountain ranges the Sierra Nevada is considered as forming the finest mountain system in the United States.

The heroism and endurance of the founders of the state challenge the approval and admiration of all people. The expedition of Anza in 1775-1776, is unexcelled for courage, skill, and fidelity to trust in the history of travels, and the story of it is as full of interest and as absorbing as the Anabasis. The great migration of the gold seekers of 1849 and 1850 has no parallel in history—unless it be the crusades of the middle ages, which do not exceed it in heroism, suffering, and endurance—while the pitiful story of the Donner party moves all hearts to sympathy. Perhaps no state in the union has been so much written about as California, or whose fate or destiny has been so much discussed. During the period of Mexican dominion there were such rumors of the designs of England on California, and of France, as to cause disquiet to the souls of American administrators who had cast eager eyes toward the Pacific, longing for an empire extending from sea to sea. It was not that England and France had any such designs—and we now know they had not—but their representatives in California were exceedingly active in spreading their influence. So zealous was the British vice-consul at Monterey in this behalf that he brought upon himself a sharp reprimand from the foreign office; while the British admiral in the Pacific kept the commander of the American squadron in a constant fever of nervous anxiety.

But the activity and the intrigues of the Americans, both in California and out of it, left the exertions of the English and French far behind. The advent of the American trappers-Jedediah Smith in 1826 and the Patties in 1828, as well as those who came later—aroused the greatest interest in California throughout the United States: for the country was described as beautiful and uniting the advantage of healthfulness to a delightful climate and a fertile soil, and the inhabitants were hospitable to the stranger, and ready to endow him with lands and cattle, and to give him one of the handsome daughters of the province for a wife should he prove worthy of that honor. But while the Californians received the foreigners with kindness, the supreme government at Mexico required the governor to arrest and imprison all foreigners entering the country without passports; though no obstacles were to be put in the way of the foreigner desiring to settle in the country in accordance with the colonization laws, which required him to become naturalized and a member of the Roman Catholic church. But notwithstanding the laws, the hunters and trappers continued to come, and not only did they treat the laws with contempt, but they explored the whole country and freely announced their intention of eventually seizing it. The negotiations for the purchase of California by President Jackson in 1835 had fallen through, and there was left only the Texas method of acquisition. Throughout the western frontier of the United States there was great activity for the next ten years, beginning with a few parties of hunters and trappers and a sprinkling of traders; but by 1841 regularly organized expeditions composed of farmers, traders, and others began to arrive in California, coming with the purpose of settling in the country of which they had heard so much. Men who made a business of encouraging emigration to California by giving lectures on the country and publishing articles in the newspapers, organized and guided emigration parties across the plains, with the avowed purpose of colonizing the province with a sufficient number of Americans to overthrow the Mexican rule. Of the early comers those who remained usually became naturalized citizens, married into the California families, and having, as it were, a stake in the country, refused to join hands with the filibusters who came They took no part in the rising of the "settlers," and very few of them enlisted under the banners of that fustian hero, John C. Frémont, until after the American flag was raised at Monterey by Commodore Sloat.

By 1845 the immigrants were coming in freely and the most extravagant reports were circulated concerning their numbers. The eastern newspapers, particularly the great dailies of New York, eagerly printed everything that came to their notice concerning California, and they received and published letters from Thomas O. Larkin, Dr. John Marsh, and L.W. Hastings. These were reprinted in other papers throughout the country, while the western papers contained descriptions of the organization and departure of emigrant companies for the promised land and the extravagant talk about what the Yankee riflemen would do in California was inevitably reported to the city of Mexico and resulted in strict orders to the governor of California to prohibit Americans from entering the department.

The administration of James K. Polk came in with the determination to acquire California. Negotiations for the purchase of the province were reopened and Polk was willing to spend any amount of money that might be necessary to accomplish it, but all to no purpose. It was understood in the city of Mexico that any government that would sell California to the Americans would forthwith be out of office.

The Washington government had been kept fully informed concerning affairs in California by Thomas O. Larkin, its consul at Monterey, colored as Larkin's reports were by his intense anxiety for American occupation. He represented to the government that the maintenance in California of a consul of France at a salary of \$4,000 and a vice-consul of England at a cost of \$1,000 per annum, when neither nation

had any commercial interests to protect or the slightest need for consular service, was very suspicious; he reported that the Hudson's Bay company had furnished arms and ammunition to the Californians in their revolt against Governor Micheltorena, and that the troops expected from Mexico to reinstate the governor were "without doubt" sent at the instigation of the British government and were to be paid with British gold; he reported the McNamara scheme as another British project for preventing the Americans from obtaining the country; and altogether he kept Mr. Polk in a tremor of anxiety lest some other power should seize the province. Larkin's despatch concerning the act of the Hudson's Bay company in furnishing the California revolutionists with arms and ammunition and of the Mexican troops to be sent into the province at the instigation of the British government drew from Mr. Buchanan, secretary of state, the famous secret despatch in which Larkin is appointed a confidential agent of the government and instructed to use the greatest vigilance in discovering and defeating any attempts made by foreign governments to acquire control over California, and to use his best efforts to persuade the Californians that the United States was their best friend and would be glad to extend all kind offices to them as a sister republic or to welcome them as brethren should they desire to become one of the free and independent states of the union. All was progressing favorably along these lines when a rude interruption came through the act of the Bear Flags at Sonoma, and all hope for a peaceful change of flag was over.

Much contumely has been heaped upon the head of General Castro for the part he took in resisting the American aggression, and great injustice has been done him. He was not the braggart and coward he has been represented and it is difficult to see how he could have acted other than he did. His letters to the governor and to the people on his leaving California are dignified and convincing.

After the discovery and settlement of California there is no event in her history that ranks in importance with her annexation to the United States. The discovery of gold with the consequent migration was spectacular, but it was only an incident which hastened the development that was certain to follow the American acquisition. The rule of gold was but brief while the abundance and excellence of the agricultural products combined with manufactures, minerals, etc., have made California the eleventh state in the union in the value of her products.

The state has had its trials and has successfully worked out some serious problems. As yet the Californian is only in the making. His faults are those of youth; but he is strong, courageous, and generous. Some allowance must be made for him, and much may be expected of his development. He loves his state and is proud of her beauty, of her mountains, streams, and forests; of her soil and her climate; and his citizenship is his dearest possession.

"And the chief captain came and said unto him: 'Tell me, art thou a Roman?' He said, 'Yea.' And the chief captain answered: 'With a great sum obtained I this freedom.' And Paul said: 'But I was free born.'" The first three volumes and half of the fourth volume of this history are the work of Mr. Clinton A Snowden, author of the History of Washington, written under the supervision of the editor by whom the last half of the fourth volume was written. The works of Bancroft and of Hittell, the writings of George Davidson, Dana, Dwinelle, Davis, Robinson, Royce, Russell, Vancouver, Willey, and many others, the store houses of the Bancroft, Davidson, the Golden Gate Park Museum, the Spanish Archives of California, the State Library, and many other collections have all been freely drawn upon as well as numerous magazines and newspapers. Acknowledgment is also due to Messrs. Turrill and Miller, Photographers, for very many illustrations furnished for the work.

Zoeth. Eldresege

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CHAPTER I. THE NAME



HE Spanish adventurers who began to explore the shores of the Pacific toward the north, soon after Balboa had discovered it, gave California its name, nearly half a century before that of any eastern state, except Florida, had found a place in any written record. They applied it first to the great peninsula that still bears it, at a time when they had not passed far beyond the bold promontory which forms its southern point; when they still thought it an island, and hoped it lay not far from the coast of Asia. It was gradually extended to the country northward, as exploration progressed, until it came to designate all the country on the coast claimed by Spain, north of Mexico.

Which of these explorers it was who first made use of the name in this way is not certainly known, nor will it probably ever be discovered. The origin and meaning of it were for a long time the subjects of curious speculation. Various derivations of it were suggested—all more or less whimsical or impossible—until Rev. Edward Everett Hale discovered, in 1862, that these early explorers had found it in a tale of the Crusades, which was very popular in their time. It was a story of wealth and valor, two subjects that were certain to engage the attention of men who were seeking to make their fortunes with their swords, as these were, and was entitled Las Sergas de Esplandian.*

^{*}The story appears to have been first printed in connection with the exploits of Amadis of Gaul, in 1510, and other editions were published in 1519, 1521, 1525 and 1526—see Bancroft's California, Vol. I, 66. Bancroft has also retold the story in The New Pacific, Chap. XXX. The book is mentioned by Cervantes as having been one of those found in the library of Don Quixote, by those discriminating critics, the village barber and the village priest, who permitted Amadis of Gaul to survive because it was "the first of all chivalries printed in Spain" and also "the best of all the books which have been composed in that kind"; but Esplandian

The heroine of the story was Queen Califa, who ruled in an island called California, which was said to lie on "the right hand of the Indies, very near to the terrestrial paradise." The island was peopled by women only, who "lived after the manner of Amazons, and who loved war. They were a strong race, and their arms and armor were all of gold, for in their island there was no other metal. They lived in caves carved out of the solid rock, well constructed and spacious, sumptuously furnished and beautifully adorned with gems and fine feather work. They also had many ships, in which they made war and brought home to their island abundant plunder; and by reason of its rocky shores and steep cliffs, there was no island in any sea stronger than this island of California, nor so strong."

It need not be supposed that these explorers seriously regarded this story, or mistook it for anything more than a tale that is told. But it well accorded with the curious dreams that filled their minds, and the equally curious hopes that inspired all their undertakings; and when we consider who they were, and what they were seeking, and review the long story of their quest, we may easily guess why they chose the name in preference to that of some saint, as their custom was, for this discovery.

They were a strange people and lived in a strange world. They went about the ordinary occupations of their lives clad in coats of mail, but ventured to

they condemned to be "the foundation of the bonfire that must be made." Don Quixote, Vol. I, Ch. 6. For Edward Everett Hale's announcement of his discovery see Proceedings American Antiquarian Society, April 30, 1862; also Atlantic Monthly, Vol. XIII, 265.

explore unknown and tempestuous oceans with ships in which modern mariners would hardly care to make a holiday excursion in the most quiet waters. They were seeking populous and wealthy countries in order that they might despoil them; new and uninhabited lands, that might be colonized and cultivated, interested them but little. They had a mission also, as they thought, to convert the heathen possessors of the wealth they hoped to find, to their own faith, and they had their missionaries with them for this purpose, as well as to record their exploits. They were scrupulously regular in their attendance at prayers, and in all the observances that the church commanded. Wherever they touched a hitherto unvisited shore, they usually took formal possession of it in the name of God and their king, and set up a cross of wood or stone, which they left as the only improvement they intended to make in it.

The world in their time was just beginning to emerge from a long period of intellectual darkness, in which the learning and the literature of a brilliant age had been lost or forgotten. Its inhabited part, as they knew it, extended but little beyond the countries which had once been included in the Roman Empire. That empire had only recently been overthrown, and another called Holy Roman existed in its stead, whose emperor was also King of Spain. The House of Tudor ruled in England, and that of Valois in France, while great princes were just beginning to give settled government to the far away Scandinavian countries and to Russia. Spain and Portugal divided the great southwestern peninsula as now. The followers of Mahomet con-

trolled all south and east of the Mediterranean, while the Church of Rome held undivided sway in spiritual matters on its northern side, although a young man, named Martin Luther, at Wittenberg on the Elbe, was beginning to make trouble for it.

That India existed somewhere in the far East, all knew, but just where, men were hardly yet beginning to have a definite idea. Fabulous stories of its wealth were told, and had been told for nearly two thousand years. Herodotus, father of history, had reported, though doubtingly and upon hearsay evidence only, that so much gold existed in its deserts that ants—"which were somewhat smaller than dogs but larger than foxes"—heaped it up in such quantities in building their houses, as to make it possible for the people living there to get an abundance of it by an artifice which he described. This story Sir John Mandeville had appropriated and reëmbellished, in his own peculiar way, and it now passed current.

The very name of India was a synonym for wealth and luxury. Thence came the rich silks, the tapestries, carpets, velvets, ivories, gems and spices, so eagerly sought by the rich and for which they paid fabulous prices. Trade with it had been carried on in some form from the earliest times. The gold of Ophir and the algum trees which Solomon had used so lavishly to decorate his famous temple, are supposed to have come thence, brought by Phoenician ships from the Persian Gulf to the Red Sea, and then across Egypt on the backs of camels to the Mediterranean. It is even possible that those Ishmaelitish merchants to whom Joseph was sold by his brethren, were engaged

in this trade, since they came from Gilead which was in that direction, "with their camels, bearing spices and balm and myrrh, going to carry it down into Egypt."* In the time of the Antonines, according to Gibbon, a fleet of a hundred and twenty ships annually brought their rich argosies from the coast of Malabar, over the route which the Phoenicians had followed to Egypt, across which they were transported to the Nile, and thence sent to Rome, where silk was sometimes exchanged, pound for pound, for gold. Later on as the empire declined, its ancient provinces in the north becoming independent realms, inhabited by a prosperous people, the trade with the East increased, its rich stuffs coming overland up the valley of the Euphrates, and thence through Damascus or Aleppo to Tyre and Antioch, or by way of Palmyra to Rome and Constantinople.

Venice grew rich in the enjoyment of this trade, after her armed galleys had cleared the Mediterranean of pirates in the Tenth century, and later Genoa gained a share of it through the favor of the emperors, who permitted her ships to pass through the Bosphorus, to meet the caravans at Batoum and Trebizond, thus greatly shortening the distance of land transportation. Genoa and Venice practically controlled it in the Fifteenth century, and it was perhaps while watching the coming and going of the ships engaged in it, to the wharves of his native city, that the boy Columbus first began to dream of reaching India by a western route.

^{*} Their merchandise was certainly like that of India. These Ishmaelites are also spoken of as Midianites, and Midian lay east of Palestine.

In his time the mysterious East was becoming better known than it had been. Nearly two hundred years earlier Marco Polo, the Venetian merchant and traveler, while a prisoner of war in that same city of Genoa, had dictated to a fellow prisoner the story of his twenty-four years' residence in that wonderful country of barbaric wealth and luxury. During these two hundred years, the glowing story, slowly multiplied by the patience of laborious copyists, had been finding its way into such libraries as there then were, and was already familiar to all who could read it either in French, Italian or Latin.

In that age when printing had been so recently invented, and both books and manuscripts were few, it may easily be guessed that the entertaining story young Marco told of his travels in a country about which all wished to know, was much talked about by those who read, while those who did not were eager listeners. The strange peoples described, their vast country, their cities embellished with gorgeous palaces, lofty temples, numerous bridges of marble, and particularly their wealth in gold and silver, gems, silks, and spices, would have a peculiar attraction for all classes—the poor and the ignorant, as well as the rich and the learned. These stories of wealth and magnificence were precisely of the kind that would lose nothing in the telling, so that in spite of the paucity of books, and the absence of newspapers, we may presume that the idea held by most people of the wealth of this mysterious land was of the most exaggerated kind.

No better evidence need be required of the confidence with which these accounts were received and believed,

TOSCANELLI'S MAP

Restoration of the map sent by Pozzo del Toscanelli, the great
Florentine astronomer, to King Alfonso V. of Portugal
in 1474; a copy was also furnished Columbus
before he sailed on his first voyage.

From "The Discovery of America" by John Fiske.

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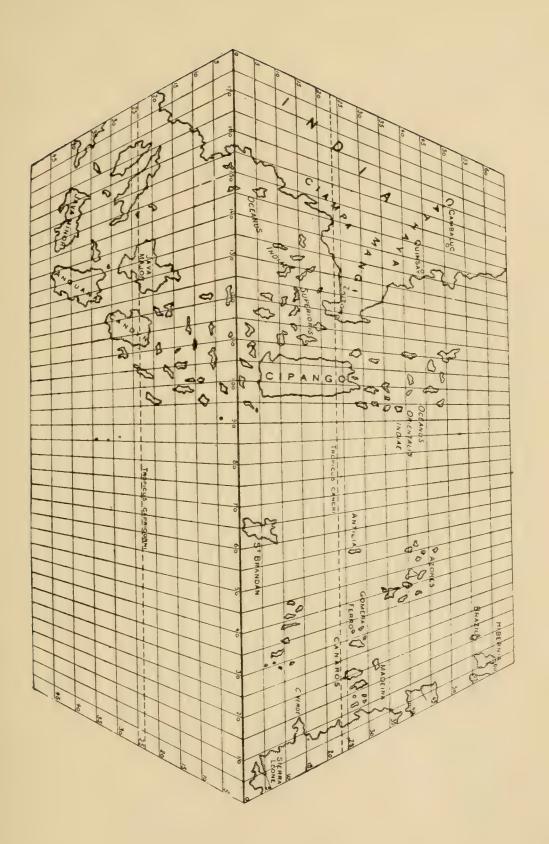
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than is found in the letter of Toscanelli, the great Florentine astronomer and cosmographer of his time, written for the information of the King of Portugal in 1474, a copy of which he later sent to Columbus, accompanied by a map for his guidance.* In this letter some of Polo's most surprising statements are repeated, with the astronomer's own assurance that his belief in them had been confirmed by conversation with merchants and travelers who had themselves visited the places mentioned. He assured Columbus that by sailing due west from the Canary Islands, he would in time reach a country so very populous and rich, that on the banks of one river alone, there were "about two hundred cities, with marble bridges, very long and wide and everywhere adorned with columns." The richest of all was "the very great and splendid city of Quinsay; for it is a hundred miles in circumference, and has ten bridges, and its name means 'City of Heaven." Long before reaching that splendid city, however, he would arrive at the island of Cipango, which "abounds in gold, pearls and precious stones, and they cover the temples and palaces with solid gold."†

* It is true that the authenticity of this letter has been questioned by Mr. Henri Vignaud, and a few others; but many eminent historians, among them Justin Winsor and John Fiske, as well as most biographers of the great discoverer, beginning with his son Fernando, and including Washington Irving and John Boyd Thatcher have accepted it as genuine.

Thatcher, have accepted it as genuine.

† Quinsay is the Kin-sai described by Marco Polo, which he says "means Celestial City, and which it merits from its preeminence to all others in the world, in point of grandeur and beauty, as well as from its abundant delights, which lead an inhabitant to imagine himself in paradise." Cipango is the Zipangu described by the same great traveler, as an island about fifteen hundred miles east of the coast of Mangi, in which Kin-sai is situated. In it gold was so plentiful that the entire roof of the king's palace was covered with it, "in the same manner as we cover houses, or more properly churches, with lead. The ceiling of the halls is of the same precious metal; many of the apartments have small tables of pure gold of considerable thickness, and the windows also have gold ornaments. So vast indeed are the riches of the place that it is impossible to convey an idea of them."

That the contents of this letter were well known to the companions of Columbus, during his voyage, there is little occasion to doubt, especially as there was no reason to keep them secret. That they subsequently became known generally among visitors to the New World there is affirmative proof, both in their conduct and in the records they have left behind them. That they had a close connection with the selection of the name California, for the land that still bears it, we shall shortly see.

While the great mind of Columbus was inspired by a loftier hope than that of finding wealth or gold, he or his followers sought for it wherever they touched firm land in their wanderings. They found it in San Salvador, where the Indians who first met them, and who were the first red men that white men had ever seen, wore small ornaments made of it. They also found it in Hayti, where they soon began to mine it, by the aid of the Indians of whom they made slaves; and again on the coast of Honduras, where the Indians wore gold plates suspended from their necks, indicating that in their country it was more plentiful. Vespucius saw small particles of it gleaming on the sands at the bottom of a river in Panama. Balboa secured as much as four thousand ounces from the Indian chief who first told him that beyond the mountain range, up which he had already climbed a goodly way, there lay a great ocean of salt water, which could be seen from its crest; and he took five hundred pounds of it from the first Indians he met on the western slope. The instructions given to Cortés, before starting on his memorable career of conquest, required him to "trade with the

natives, to invite them to give in their allegiance to the King of Spain, and to manifest it by regaling him with such comfortable presents of gold, silver and precious stones as, by showing their own good will would secure his favor and protection." Later when he had taken possession of the Aztec capital he took gold plates and other ornaments from the temples, and from the private hoard of Montezuma, of a value estimated at \$6,000,000 and other large sums were secured at other times, which made him the richest conqueror, and Spain the richest country, in ready capital, in the world. But by the time his conquest was complete, and long before, other events had happened which made a search for the splendid cities of the East, which Marco Polo and Toscanelli had so vividly described, more urgent than it had been.

Portugal had begun to search for an eastern route to India nearly seventy years before Columbus started on his western voyage. When her sailors had passed Cape Bojador in 1442, and brought back gold and a cargo of negro slaves, from a point four hundred miles beyond that stormy headland, Pope Eugenius IV had been appealed to for a papal guaranty that Portugal should have all the new lands that might be discovered in that direction, as the just reward of her enterprise. Eugenius had given this guaranty, it had been confirmed by his successors, and this papal decree appears to have been accepted by the Christian world at that time, as having all the force and validity of a genuine deed of gift. When Columbus returned from his first voyage toward the west, with the news of his success, Spain appealed to Alexander VI, who then occupied the papal chair, for a similar edict, and the famous bull "Inter Cetera" was issued, in which, "through the fullness of Apostolic power," and even by greater authority,* he gave to Ferdinand and Isabella, and to their heirs forever, all those lands and islands, not then possessed by any other Christian prince,† with their dominions, territories, cities, citadels, towns, places and villages, found or to be found, discovered or to be discovered, toward the West and South, of a north and south line drawn one hundred leagues west and south of any of the islands called the Azores and Cape Verde Islands."

The whole undiscovered portion of the world, at that time much its larger part, was thus divided by papal decree, between the crowns of Portugal and Spain.

But the line thus drawn "in the fullness of Apostolic power," did not remain satisfactory to the parties interested, and by the treaty of Tordesilas, made only a year after Pope Alexander's bull was issued, it was removed two hundred and seventy leagues farther west. This treaty Spain very soon had cause to regret, as it was found a few years later that it gave Portugal a goodly slice off the eastern side of Brazil, and also led to other embarrassing complications.

A sharp contest between the two powers now began, and no other countries in the Christian world were so well situated to engage in a competition of this kind, nor so well equipped to prosecute it with vigor.

^{* &}quot;Auctoritate Omnipotentis Dei; nobis in beato Petro concessa ae vicariatus Iesu Christi qua fungimur in terris," is part of the lanugage used.

† This exception was made because it had long been currently reported that a Christian prince, known as John the Presbyter, or Prester John, whose war standards were crosses of gold set with emeralds, ruled a very large and rich kingdom, somewhere near the Indies. Both Marco Polo and Mandeville mention him.

Neither had engaged in the crusades, which during the Twelfth and Thirteenth centuries had employed, and in a large degree exhausted the energies of other European peoples. Both had been too busily occupied with the Mohammedan invaders of their own lands, to have occasion to seek them abroad but when the Moors were finally driven out of the peninsula, both were left free to employ their energies in new occupations. Portugal, the first to be relieved of the troublesome Moors, earliest began work in this new direction, her people and her princes being encouraged thereto by the learning and the enterprise of the king's son Henry, since known to fame as Henry the Navigator. This prince early became convinced that a route to the Indies might be found by sailing southward along the coast of Africa, and under his patronage expeditions were sent out, which reached Madeira and the Canary Islands, which, although once known, no European had visited for more than a thousand years. Later the Azores were reached, and that voyage past Cape Bojador was made, which had won from Pope Eugenius that papal bull which gave one-half the world to Portugal.

Previous to Henry's time even the boldest sailors had not ventured to go very far out into the ocean, which was then known as the Sea of Darkness. A superstitious dread of it was well nigh universal. Hugging the coast, ships went north as far as the British Isles, and a few, in one of which Columbus himself had sailed, had gone even as far as Iceland. Those who made these voyages had observed that the weather grew colder as they advanced toward the north, while those who had gone in the opposite direction noticed

that it grew warmer. As no one had yet passed the Equator, it was supposed that somewhere in that direction, there was a place where the sea was boiling hot, and the temperature on land something that no mortal could endure. It had also been noticed that ships seemed to sink below the horizon, as if going down a hill, as they sailed away from shore, and many feared if they ventured too far they might reach a place whence they never could return. That useful instrument, the mariner's compass, was known and used, though many still had a superstitious fear of it, believing it to be an invention of the Evil One. Only a little more than a hundred years had passed since Roger Bacon had shown a brother investigator that "black, ugly stone," which had the strange power of drawing iron toward it, and on which, if a piece of iron were rubbed and afterward suspended by a thread, it forever after pointed toward the north. The best navigators knew how to find their latitude at sea, and had crude instruments for that purpose, but they could do no more than guess at their longitude. The competitors for the rich prize that should reward the earliest discoverer of a route by sea to India, entered upon the contest under many disadvantages.

Spain seemed for a time to have won, at least a strong lead, when Columbus returned from his first voyage, and the impression was strengthened by the news he brought back from his second. But in 1498 Vasco da Gama, a bold Portuguese navigator, rounded the Cape of Good Hope, and in the following year returned from a successful voyage to the coast of Malabar, where he found rich cities, talked with a powerful prince

and brought home rubies and emeralds, rich silks and velvets, damask robes with satin linings, bronze chairs with cushions, as well as gold, silver and ivory, and many other evidences that he had found, or at least had been very near to the rich regions described by Marco Polo and Toscanelli. Two years later Pedro Alvares de Cabral, who was sent off as promptly as possible after Da Gama's return, with a fleet of thirteen ships and twelve hundred men, to establish a Portuguese trading center on the Malabar coast, returned with such a variety of rich goods and precious stuffs as had never before reached western Europe. At that time no rich cities had been found in the country which Columbus had discovered, and had since twice revisited. No goods had been seen that were worth carrying back to Europe, nor any peoples that could make such goods. To the early Spanish sailors on unknown seas, and the explorers of unknown lands, it appeared that they had fallen upon a barren and undeveloped part of a rich continent, by sailing west, while their Portuguese competitors had found its richer part by sailing east; for in that early period no Spaniard doubted that the land Columbus had found was a part of Asia. Columbus never knew that he had discovered a new continent, but died in the belief that he had found the eastern coast of the old, to which no European mariner at that time had ever sailed. Vespucius was no wiser at his death, and indeed the fact that a separate continent had been discovered was not definitely proven till more than two hundred years later, when Vitus Bering sailed through the strait which still bears his name, and found the left hand shore beyond it trending

sharply toward the west. It is in no way surprising therefore, that the immediate successors of Columbus and Vespucius should have felt alarm at the situation in which circumstances seemed to have placed them. There was need therefore for the greatest exertion.

Great exertions were not wanting. Successive voyages by Columbus and Vespucius enlarged the general knowledge of the new continent, but did nothing even to awaken suspicion that it was not really a part of the old. Not until Vasco Nuñez de Balboa had learned from an Indian chief whom he had helped to subdue his enemies, that a great ocean lay only a short distance beyond the mountains near which his home was, and could be seen from their summits, did anybody suspect that a new continent had been discovered.

This Vasco Nuñez was a man of spirit and enterprise, and one of the few who would have won the whole New World with all its wealth for his king, if his efforts had not been thwarted by that king himself. From the humblest possible position in the beginning, he had risen rapidly to power, largely through his own efforts and valor, and was now in command in Darien. Envious rivals were plotting his overthrow, and poisoning the mind of the king against him, and there was urgent need to do some brilliant act to offset this kind of attack, against which he had no other defense. accordingly resolved to scale the mountain range, and see for himself the great ocean that lay beyond it, if it really existed. If gold abounded, as the chief had reported, it would be very easy to bring confusion upon his traducers, though the Indians living there were as fierce and warlike as he had been assured they were.

VASCO NUÑEZ DE BALBOA Discoverer of the Pacific Ocean. Born at Jerez de los Caballeros, Badajos, Spain, 1475; died at Acla, Isthmus of Panama, 1517.

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It would require at least a thousand men to cope with them, his informant had said, and at most he could raise but a hundred and ninety; but with these, a few Indians to act as guides, and a number of bloodhounds, which the Spaniards of that time were accustomed to use with success in their wars with the natives, he set off. In the toilsome climb up the eastern side of the range, he lost nearly two-thirds of his men, who either fell in battle or succumbed to the fierce heat of a tropical September, and reached the base of the last bald ridge at the summit, with barely sixty-five.

It is not often that a man is permitted to look over the edge of the world, as it were, at what lies on its farther side, and which no other civilized man has ever seen. Vasco Nuñez knew well that he was on the threshold of a great discovery or a great disappointment, and he wanted to see what he was to see alone. It was not yet noon, the day was intensely hot, and his men who had risen before daybreak to begin the ascent, willingly obeyed his order to remain where they were while he, accompanied by none save possibly his favorite bloodhound, climbed the last barrier that shut the grand discovery from his view. The summit reached, he "stood alone upon a peak in Darien," and may well have—

"felt like some watcher of the skies, When a new planet swims into his ken,"

for the promised ocean lay before him, with all its vastness and its mystery. Very naturally the man, being only mortal, fell upon his knees and gave thanks

to God who had created the heavens, the earth and the sea and all that is in them, as he is reported to have done.

Summoning his soldiers and the priest who had as usual accompanied them, further religious ceremonies, including the singing of the *Te Deum*, were held on that barren mountain top, and then a great cross was hewn from "a fair and tall tree" and set up to mark the spot on which the great discovery had been made, a heap of stones being piled about to support it. It would be worth while to find and mark the place where that cross of wood once stood, with some more enduring monument, if it could with some certainty be identified.

After descending to the shore and taking possession of his discovery, with the customary formalities of the time, the party returned across the range, and Balboa immediately set to work to construct ships with which to make further explorations. With infinite labor he caused the material for four brigantines to be carried across the rugged mountains of the isthmus, from one shore to the other. All this, including the wood, the iron, the cordage, chains and anchors, was borne over the range on the shoulders of his soldiers, and such Indians as could be hired or forced to assist in the work.*

Such prompt and energetic efforts were worthy of high reward, but no such reward was won by Vasco Nuñez. He was not of the kind of men that kings,

^{*} Strange stories are told of the cruelties practised on the poor Indians while this work was in progress. Bishop Quevedo reported to Charles V that more than five hundred perished in the work, and the Bishop's secretary told Las Casas that the number was nearer two thousand. Las Casas, Historia de las Indies, IV, 233. At the same time Las Casas bears witness that Balboa did not spare himself in the work, helping everywhere with his own hands, as well as urging and encouraging others.

MAP OF THE ISTHMUS OF PANAMA Reproduced from HERRERA'S Historia de las Indias Occidentales, 1726.

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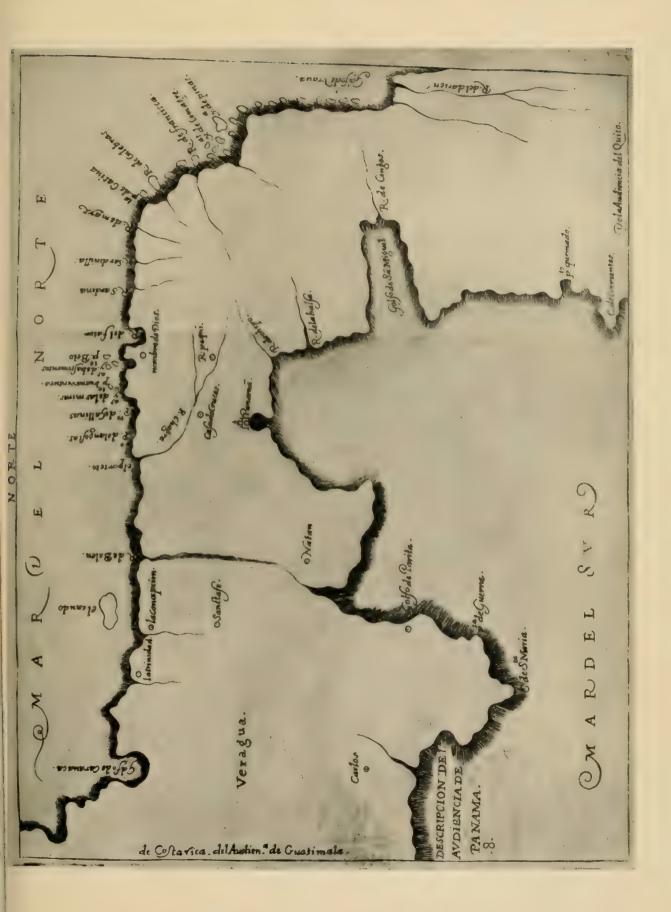
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who supposed themselves to rule by Divine Right, delight to honor. He had fled from Hispaniola to escape his creditors, taking passage as a stowaway in an empty barrel, on board one of the ships sent out with colonists to Panama, a few years earlier; and after he had escaped being marooned on a desert island when his presence was discovered, had gradually risen to be first in authority there, by virtue of his own merits, when death had removed his incompetent superiors. But Divine Right recognizes no obligations to intelligent and energetic service; the royal will rules with a supreme confidence that a king can do no wrong, either to himself or to others. This arrogant confidence in the virtues of royalty cost Charles V and his incompetent heirs, the better part of a continent.

While Balboa was pushing his work forward with constantly increasing hopes of success, he was superseded in command by one of the most inhuman tyrants that ever wielded despotic power in any country, and was shortly after put to death. The ships which he had constructed with such infinite labor—the first that ever pressed the placid waters of the Pacific—after making a short excursion to the islands in the Gulf of Panama, disappeared from history and were probably left to rot at anchor.

A few years later Hernando Cortés, the conqueror of Mexico, was to meet similar discouragements, and narrowly escaped a similar fate. As soon as his work as conqueror was sufficiently complete to permit him to give attention to other matters, he set about exploring the country and enlarging the possessions of his king. He soon found that the shore of a western ocean

was not very distant from his capital, and he forthwith ordered that four small ships should be built at the mouth of the river Zacatula, in the province of Michoacan. Much of the material for these required to be transported from the Atlantic side, over an elevation of approximately eight thousand feet, and by the same means that Balboa had used, for there was no other. At the same time he directed five ships to be built on the east coast, to explore the shores of the Gulf of Mexico, which then were but little known, although the main coast of the continent had been more or less carefully examined by various explorers, from Labrador to the Strait of Magellan. But all this toil resulted in little. The four ships built at Zacatula were burned on the stocks, and the others did not accomplish much.

Want of success, however, on the part of those he was compelled to entrust with the command of these enterprises, seems not to have discouraged this man who was accustomed to succeed, and while he remained in the country which he had conquered, he never relaxed his efforts to explore the coast further north, particularly on its western side. Between 1524 and 1539, he built nearly a score of ships, at his own expense, and sent out five expeditions, no one of which until the last, did more than to explore the Gulf of California, and reach the lower part of the peninsula on its western side, at a small harbor Cortés himself visited in May, 1535, having been compelled by their mutinous crews to take command in person, in order to rescue the enterprise from hopeless failure. A later expedition, and the last sent out by him, under the command of Francisco de Ulloa, explored both coasts of the gulf to its

northern limit, and then returning southward, rounded the point of land south of the Bay of Santa Cruz, and sailed along the western coast of the peninsula as far north as the Isle of Cedros, where the ships remained from January until the beginning of April, when sickness among his sailors and want of provisions compelled De Ulloa to send one of them back to Mexico. With the other he made another attempt to explore the coast further north, but adverse winds delayed him until failing supplies and the sickness of his crew compelled him to return.

The rich argosies brought to Portugal from the Indies, after Da Gama had opened the way thither round the Cape of Good Hope, roused the energies of Spanish explorers and adventurers to seek for, and if possible find, a passage of some sort through the firm land which barred their way to the country they wished to reach. This was the principal object of the last voyage made by Columbus himself, in 1502, and of the fourth voyage of Vespucius, made three years later. It is interesting to note, in view of the approaching completion of the Panama Canal, that these earliest efforts were directed toward that part of the continent in which this artificial channel has been constructed.*

^{*} It is also interesting to know that it was suggested that a canal be cut through the isthmus at that point more than three hundred years ago. Alcedo (quoted by Greenhow), in his Geographical and Historical Dictionary of the West Indies, says: "In the time of Philip II it was proposed to cut a canal through the Isthmus of Panama, for the passage of ships from one ocean to the other; and two Flemish engineers were sent to examine the place with that object. They, however, found the obstacles insuperable; and the Council of the Indies at the same time represented to the king the injuries which such a canal would occasion to the monarchy; in consequence of which, his majesty directed that no one should in future attempt, or even propose, such an undertaking, under pain of death."

It is to be borne in mind that no one knew at that time that the narrowest part of the continent lay there, nor was there any means of guessing how near the ocean lay on the farther side. Columbus had observed during his third voyage, in which he explored for the first time the northern coast of South America, how steadily it trended toward the west. He remembered that the southern coast of Cuba, visited on an earlier voyage, extended in the same general direction, and that nearly all the islands in that part of the ocean were longer from east to west than from north to south. Reflecting on these observations after his return to Spain, he concluded that the strong current* which had carried his ships more than seventy leagues out of their true course, probably indicated that there was an opening in that neighborhood into the Indian Ocean; or possibly that what he had discovered was a group of islands only. But on arriving in these waters again, on his fourth voyage, he found no such opening, only firm land, which he explored from some point in the Gulf of Honduras, to and beyond Panama, vainly searching for what did not exist. Vespucius and La Cosa visited the Gulf of Darien in 1505, on a similar mission, and ascended the Atrato River for nearly two hundred miles, hoping, experienced sailors though they were, that this river might prove to be a strait.

After Balboa's discovery, it was supposed, for a time, that the narrow isthmus, and the great continent which the earlier voyages of Vespucius had shown to lie south of it, were separated only by a narrow gulf or sea, from India; for Toscanelli's map had shown the

^{*} This was the Gulf Stream.

HERRERA'S TITLE PAGE, VOL. I.

HERNANDO CORTÉS

and la Gran Ciudad de Mexico
en la Laguna.

Note the walled city surrounded
by the waters of the lake.
This city was destroyed by
Cortés in November; 1821.

A ROYAL PRISONER

THE KING OF MICHOACAN VISITS CORTÉS

AN EXECUTION

CRISTOBAL DE OLID Conqueror of Michoacan.

MEXICO REBUILT

By Cortes—he employed 400,000

Mexicans in the work.

HERNANDO DE MAGELLAN and the Passage of the Straits of Magellan October 21—
November 28,-1520.

This city was destroyed by MAGELLAN PASSING
Cortés in November; 1821. THROUGH THE ISLANDS
OF THE PACIFIC

DEATH OF MAGELLAN
ON THE ISLAND OF MACTAN
(Philippines), April 27, 1521.

THE SHIP VICTORIA
arriving at Seville, September 6,
1522, from its voyage around
the world, under command
of Juan Sebastian Del Cano.
This was the only surviving ship
of Magellan's fleet and was the
first to circumnavigate
the globe.

GONZALO DE SANDOVAL Valiant Captain of Cortés.

CONTROVERSY OVER THE PARTITION OF THE NEW WORLD

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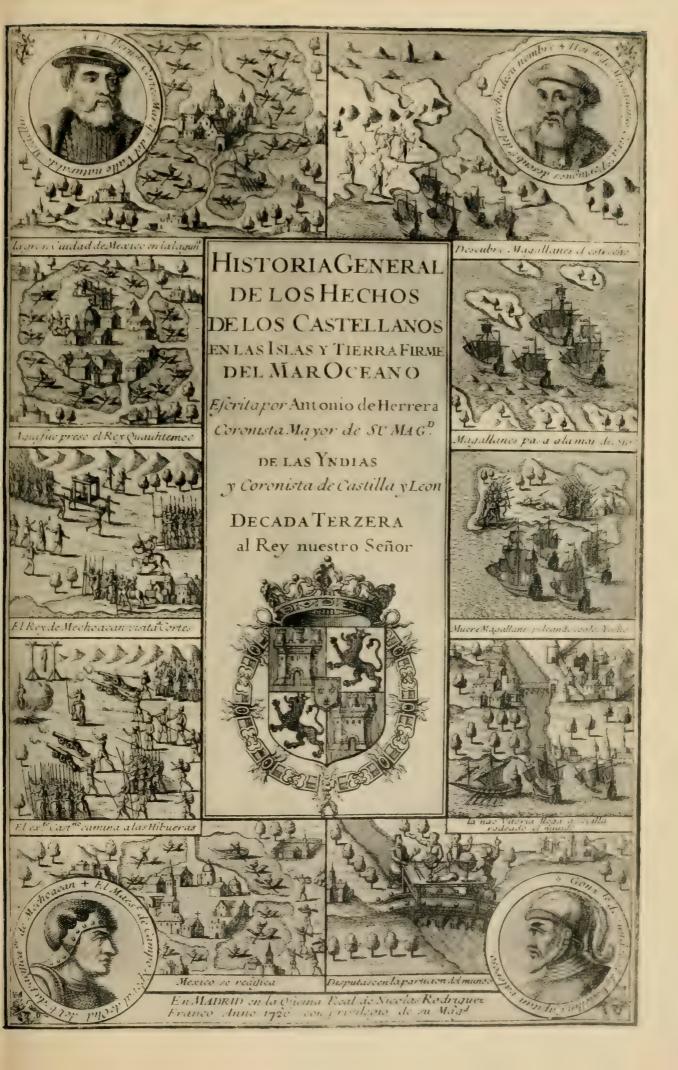
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world to be about one-fourth smaller than it really is, and other cosmographers had generally accepted his calculations. But when Magellan had sailed through the strait which now bears his name, and crossed the wide Pacific for the first time, in 1520, a new and more correct view of the size of the earth, and of the character of the continent which Columbus had discovered, began to be possible. The companions of Cortés, in conquering Mexico and the Central American countries south of it, had demonstrated that there was no opening through the continent between the point where he had landed and the Gulf of Honduras, from which Columbus had explored the coast southward, and after his time all efforts were bent toward finding a strait toward the north.

A report that such a strait really existed in that direction early gained currency. In the summer of 1501, Manuel, King of Portugal, in order to retrieve, in some degree, the error his father had made in refusing to employ Columbus when he had opportunity, sent Gaspar Cortereal, with two caravels, to make explorations far to the north of any that other navigators at that time had made. He appears to have reached the coast of Labrador, and followed it northward until he was stopped by ice. He reported that he had found a promising opening in the bleak coast, near the sixtieth parallel, which he believed to be a strait, and which for some reason never yet satisfactorily explained, he named Anian. Speculation gradually magnified this icy opening into a broad-flowing channel, extending westward until it opened into a

sunny ocean, not far from the rich islands and famed cities which lay near that terrestrial paradise so eagerly sought.

To find the western opening of this mythical strait soon became, and remained, an object of vast interest, particularly to those who directed explorations but took no part in them themselves. The Kings of Spain, and the Council of the Indies, which they had early created to take charge of and direct the work of exploring, as well as of governing the New World, grew more and more urgent to have it found, as their envy of Portuguese adventures toward the East increased. If it could be found, and particularly if when found, it should be so situated as to give the easy access hoped for to the Indies, it was all important that Spain should find it first, and fortify it so as to prevent other nations from enjoying its use. Then perhaps she might control the trade with the East, and dominate not only the new continent, but the newly discovered ocean beyond it, as, under the decree of Pope Alexander, she was already claiming a God given right to do.

As Spain's most energetic and most successful servant in the New World, Cortés was early urged to engage in this search. Loyally obedient to his king, who had now become Emperor of Germany, as Charles V, he instructed all his captains to make its discovery a main object of their explorations, and he frequently sent back to Spain assurances that he always kept its discovery in mind. "Your Majesty may be assured," he says in one letter to the emperor, "that as I know how much you have at heart the discovery of this great secret of a strait, I shall postpone all interests and

projects of my own, some of them of the highest moment, for the fulfillment of this great object."

What his own great projects were it is not difficult to surmise. He was a most loyal servant of his prince, and knew that his interests required that the rich cities described by Marco Polo and the old Florentine savant, should be reached and subjugated at the earliest moment, and particularly before any Portuguese discoverer should find them. His own interests, as well as those of the emperor, lay in this direction, for all the pressing instructions he received, urging him to renewed efforts to find this strait, directed him to provide vessels for the enterprise at his own expense; and his fortune, constantly drawn upon as it was to build and equip ships, and pay the wages of those who sailed in them, was beginning to be greatly impaired. If these rich cities could be found, the conqueror of Mexico would know how to reprovide himself. That he had this method of repairing his fortunes in mind, is shown by his instructions to those who commanded his expeditions; and some of these have come down to us. Those to Mendoza, who commanded his second expedition, directed him "to sail within sight of the coast, and at all convenient places, to land and communicate with the natives, whom he was to conciliate by every means in his power. Should he find a country which seemed to be rich, or inhabited by civilized persons, he was to return immediately, or send back one of his ships with the news."

Rich cities, therefore, were the main object of the quest. Such cities are usually situated near the ocean; at least any country bordering on the ocean, which was

sufficiently developed to have great and rich cities, would have one so situated that it could be conveniently seen from the ocean. To sail near the coast would therefore be sufficient for all the objects of the expedition; for it was supposed in Cortés' time, and for more than two hundred and fifty years thereafter that the opening into any considerable strait or river would be found in that way. Perez and Martinez, Heceta and Cuadra, Meares, Cook and Vancouver, all supposed so, as it seems, and yet none of them found the Columbia, all missed the Strait of Juan de Fuca except Vancouver, who found his way into it by inquiring about it of Captain Robert Gray, and not one of them discovered the great Bay of San Francisco.

Again when a rich city, or a country which seemed to be inhabited by a civilized people was found, the commander of the expedition was to send back a ship, or immediately return himself with the news. The search for a strait could then be suspended, or postponed to a more convenient time.

While thus complying with the instructions of his superiors in regard to the search for a strait, there is no doubt that the great commander made it only a secondary object of his exertions. The rich regions of the East were ever in his mind. When the news was first brought to him from Michoacan, that a great ocean lay only a short distance toward the west, he wrote to the emperor: "Most of all do I exult in the tidings brought me of the Great Ocean; for in it, as Cosmographers, and those learned men who know most about the Indies inform us, are scattered the rich isles, teeming with gold and spices and precious stones."

Again after the vessels built at Zacatula, the materials for which had been transported across Mexico with such infinite labor, had been accidentally destroyed by fire, before they were launched, he wrote his Majesty saying that he had already begun to build a new fleet, and assured him that he hoped soon to "put him in possession of more lands and kingdoms than the nation had ever heard of."

The fortunes of Cortés had led him in the very beginning of his enterprises, to the one part of the newly discovered continent which was inhabited by a people farthest advanced toward civilization. While other adventurers, and even Columbus himself, had found only savages, dwelling without shelter under the open sky, he had found a wealthy people living in regularly built cities, whose kings dwelt in palaces, and who worshipped their gods in richly ornamented temples. It was a most curious thing that this people, so far advanced as they were in arts that were both useful and ornamental, should dwell alone in that part of the earth, and remote from others equally or even more advanced than themselves; and it would have been stranger still if Cortés, at that time, had guessed that this was so. When he found time to reflect, after the arduous labors and anxieties of his conquest, he must have taken hope that he was near the wonderful islands, so rich in spices, gems and other precious stuffs, and possibly to that City of Quinsay that was so near to paradise itself.

That this latter idea had no small part in the speculations of all the adventurous explorers of that time, there is abundant evidence. Even the practical mind

of Columbus was accustomed to refresh itself with dreams of finding that garden which God had planted eastward in Eden, and whence flowed the four rivers Pison, Gihon, Hiddekel and Euphrates. His biographers tell us that he was familiar with the speculations of St. Augustine, and other fathers of the church on that subject; and that while in the Gulf of Paria, on his third voyage, he was for a time exalted by the hope that he was near that ideal spot. The temperate climate and clear blue sky, the low shores covered with luxurious forests and filled with birds of rich plumage, the fertile fields watered by fountains and streams of the purest water, delighted the eye and refreshed the soul. He noticed also with satisfaction that the inhabitants of that region were of a fairer complexion than any he had met with on his earlier voyages, as well as more docile and apparently more intelligent. But most of all a broad river of surprisingly pure water flowing into the bay from the interior, impressed him. It fell into the ocean from the southwest, descending through hills rising higher and higher toward its source, and, so far as he could see, all covered, as the shore was all about him, with the richest tropical verdure. All this agreed surprisingly with a theory he had been forming that the earth was not round but pear-shaped, and that on the stem end, pointing upward, and at some place under the equator, the home of our first parents would ultimately be found; and so impressed was he with the indications which seemed to encourage and confirm his new theory, that he sailed as far up this

river as he could, in the hope of finding some more convincing evidence that it was one of the four which flowed out from paradise.

Nor was the great commander alone or singular among men of his time in thus indulging in strange speculations, and cherishing illusory hopes. "The life of the Spanish discoverers," says Prescott, "was one long daydream. Illusion after illusion chased one another, like the bubbles which the child throws off from his pipe, as bright, as beautiful, and as empty. They lived in a world of enchantment."*

We can only understand them, and the motives that actuated them in their daring enterprises, by remembering that their world was not as enlightened as our own. The long night of the dark ages was hardly yet ended. The dawn was beginning to appear, but only beginning. Printing had only recently been invented, and books were still few. Students were compelled to resort to the libraries, kept for the most part in convents and other religious institutions; the great mass of the people could not read if they had books, and entertained themselves with legends and folktales. Some of these had been repeated so frequently, and for so long a time, that they were by many, confidently believed to be true; and more than one of them had no little effect in directing or encouraging the enterprise of the discoverers.

One of them was a story that at the time of the Moorish invasion of the peninsula, early in the eighth century, seven bishops, accompanied by large numbers of their people, had fled to sea in boats and after a

^{*} Conquest of Mexico, Book VII, Ch. 2.

long time discovered an island, very rich in all that nature could bestow upon it; and there they built seven cities, which later became very wealthy. Where this island was located, or what its name was nobody knew, or pretended to know for several centuries, but finally it came to be called Antilia. Toscanelli mentioned it in his letter to Columbus, as an island "which you know," and it is also shown on his map, as well as on Martin Behaim's globe, made at Nuremberg about the time Columbus was starting on his first voyage, and on Johann Ruysch's map, published in 1508. For more than seven hundred years no one appears to have pretended to have seen this island, or to know more about it than was told in the legend, till in the time of Prince Henry the Navigator, some sailor adventurers set up a pretence that they had at last found it, but their pretensions were soon exposed by that shrewd investigator.

Soon after the time of Columbus it began to appear that there was no island of Antilia, at least not in the part of the ocean where it had been supposed to be, and the name slightly changed, was applied to the group of islands which he had first discovered. But while the island itself ceased to be talked about as a reality, the legend of the cities was not forgotten; explorers continued to look for them, and the hope of finding them somewhere farther toward the west, was not the least of the causes which encouraged them in their undertakings.

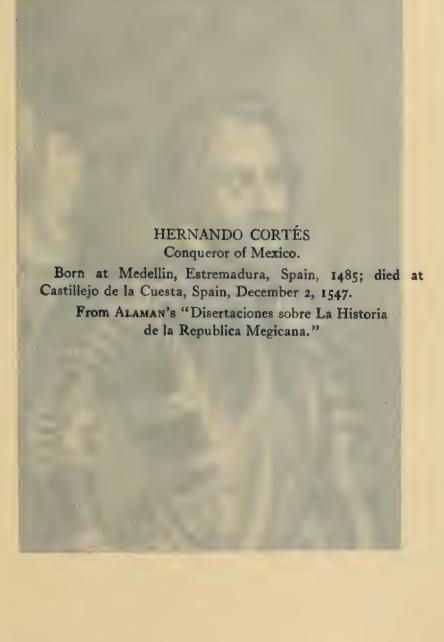
Surely Mr. Prescott was right in saying that the lives of these early explorers was one long daydream. No people ever lived who were more accustomed to

listen with credulity to the whispers of fancy, or to pursue with eagerness the phantoms of hope. They were farther from the Indies they so eagerly sought, and expected almost daily to reach, than they were from Spain; and there were in them no golden ant heaps, and no "cities roofed with gold," waiting to be despoiled. There was no Strait of Anian, or any other waterway leading across the broad continent from one ocean to the other, no garden of Eden waiting for them to find it, and no island of Amazons whose warlike inhabitants dwelt in rock caverns, richly embellished with gold and gems.

But they pursued the search for these things with an energy and courage that no other explorers have excelled. Had Cortés encountered only such obstacles as nature opposed to his progress, when he began his efforts at exploration, we may readily suppose that much more would have been accomplished during his time. is quite possible that the whole coast might have been explored, at least as far north as the present limits of the state, and that all the harbors, including the Bay of San Francisco, would have been discovered. The enterprise of such a man is not limited or defeated by the obstacles which others fail to overcome. By his conquest of Mexico, and particularly by the large shares of the plundered wealth of that province which he had sent to Spain as the emperor's share, he had brought down upon himself the suspicion that he was becoming, or might become too powerful to remain a subject. He was not of noble birth, was only the son of a captain in the army, and it was not the habit of Divine Right to entrust great powers to such ignoble

hands. Although his old enemy, Bishop Fonseca, head of the Council of the Indies, was now dead, those who had succeeded to his authority and influence in the management of affairs in the New World, deprived him of his powers as governor, although he was elevated to the dignity of Marquis of the Valley of Oxaca, given vast estates in that province, and made captain general of New Spain and the South Sea. In this new office he was charged with the duty of making explorations at his own expense—in the new ocean, and endowed with one-twelfth of all the new countries he should discover and subdue: but he was required to submit all his plans to and be governed by the Royal Audencia, at first a governing body, and later a governor's council and supreme court, at the head of which was Nuñez de Guzman, an avowed enemy. This council was superseded, in a short time by a viceroy, who exercised regal authority in the province as the emperor's representative, while Guzman became governor of a province which, while it lay principally on the eastern side of Mexico, he soon extended across the peninsula to the western shore. Taking possession of this part of his province, where he founded the town of Culiacan, opposite the entrance to the gulf, Guzman set himself to obstruct and defeat the plans of the conqueror whenever possible.

It is not necessary to recount the several expeditions prepared and dispatched by Cortés to explore the coast toward the north. None of them reached the boundaries of the present state, though they exercised a considerable influence in hastening its discovery. Guzman seized two of his ships belonging to different



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ALCHEDINA LOSAL MAR CONTES

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expeditions, and this so exasperated him that he set off for the north, in 1535, with a company of soldiers to punish his enemy. Arriving at Chiametla, without having encountered Guzman, he learned there that one of his crews had mutinied near that place, and after having murdered their captain, had set off toward the west with the ship, under command of Fortuno Jimenez, the pilot, who had apparently been a leader in the mutiny; that they had discovered a country never before seen, at no very great distance; had landed in it, in a small harbor in latitude 23° or thereabouts; that there Jimenez and about twenty of the mutineers had been killed by Indians, and the others had returned with the ship to the mainland, where they and the ship had been seized by Guzman. Having recovered his property, Cortés caused the ships to be refitted, and with some others which by this time had come up, he personally crossed over to the newly discovered country, hoping no doubt to find in it new opportunities for conquest. The mutineers had reported that it was rich in pearls; possibly it was an eastern portion of the Indies, or possibly that wonderfully rich island Cipango, of which Marco Polo and old Toscanelli had written so long ago. If not these it might be some other island that would have something about it to indicate that the Indies were near. There might, after all be some basis of truth about that story of the Amazons and their island that lay on the "right hand of the Indies and very near to the terrestrial paradise." He had heard about these women from various sources since he had been in New Spain. Christoval de Olid, one of his lieutenants, whom he had sent north along

the coast to subdue the country in 1524, had been told by the Indians that there was such an island inhabited by such women, about ten days' march further north than he had gone. He had written the emperor about this report at the time, telling him where the island was reported to lie, and that some of the chiefs claimed to have visited it, and "that it is very rich in pearls and gold."* There had been no opportunity to investigate this matter so far, but now he would see.

Finding it impossible to punish Guzman, and having got his ships ready, he set off toward the west to examine the new land which the mutineers had found, in which some of them had been killed, and which the survivors supposed to be an island. When the expedition came in sight of it, its steep cliffs and rocky shores rising abruptly to a height of four hundred and ten feet above the sea,† must have suggested, to more than one reader of the story of Esplandian on board, the island of the Amazons, which was "the strongest in all the world, with its steep cliffs and rocky shores." Under such circumstances it would not be surprising if all members of the expedition who were familiar with the story, should have hailed this land at first sight as California, the island of the Amazons, or that they should have continued to speak of it by that name long

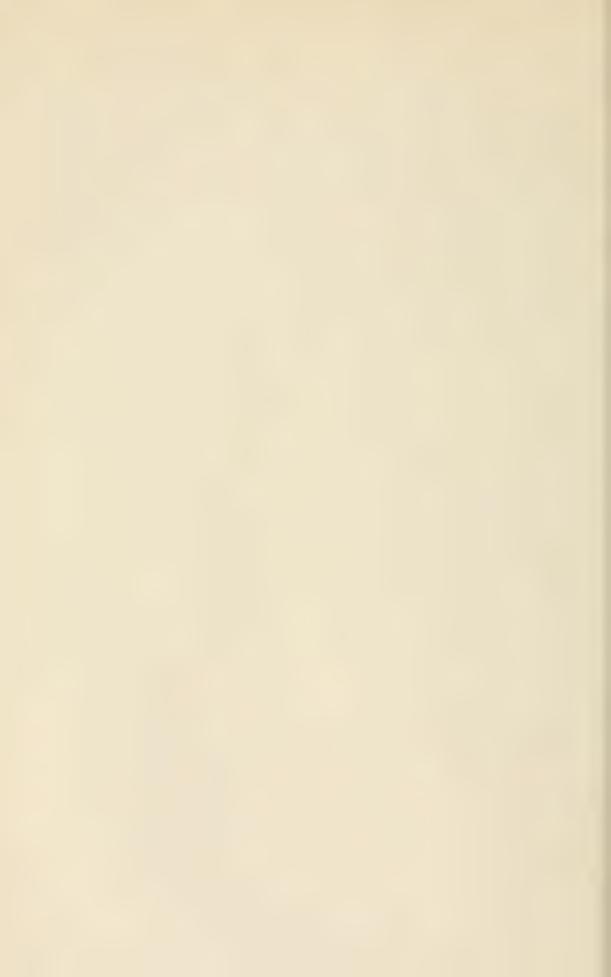
^{*} Letter of Oct. 15, 1524.

[†] The cliffs at Cape Pulmo are 410 feet above the sea, and within a mile the hill rises to 850 feet; with allow neck or valley behind it, so that from the northward or southward the hill presents a notable feature. Inside of this the mountains, eight miles westwardly rise to 2,885 feet, while Miraflores, of the Sierra Victoria 27 miles from the gulf shore, rises to 6,200 feet elevation; the former is visible at 62 miles distance, the latter at 91 miles. Professor George Davidson—An Examination of Some of the Early Voyages of Discovery and Exploration on the Northwest Goast of America, from 1539 to 1603—Report of the U. S. Goast and Geodetic Survey, 1886.

after they had discovered that there were no Amazons in it. Bernal Diaz, one of the two chroniclers who have preserved for us a record of what Cortés did in the New World, says of this voyage, that he "went to discover other lands, and came to California, which is a bay." This indicates that the name was applied to something at this time. It is true that Diaz did not write his history of the conquest as published, until more than thirty years later, but Mr. Prescott regards him as reliable in most things, and says of his work that "there is nowhere a willful perversion of the truth." There is an earlier mention of the name in Preciado's record of the voyage of Ulloa, but he invariably uses it as a name previously applied and already well known. For example, writing on November 10, 1539, more than four years after Cortés had made his trip to the peninsula, he says: "We found ourselves fifty-four leagues distant from California, a little more or less, always in the southwest, seeing in the night three or four fires." Again he speaks of their Indian interpreter as having been born in the isle of California. Cortés seems never to have written the name; he invariably speaks of the bay in which he arrived as the Bay of Santa Cruz, the name he gave it; he also applied the same name "I arrived at the land of Santa Cruz," to the land. he says, "and being in it, I had complete knowledge of Later some of those who were with him, the land." when questioned about the country, and its name, one replied that it was called Tarsis, another that he could remember no name, and still another that it had no name.

So confusing is the evidence as to how, when and by whom the name was applied, that we can only speculate about these things without arriving at any definite or satisfactory conclusion. It was perhaps more or less spontaneously applied to the peninsula, by those among the companions of Cortés who were familiar with the story of the Island of the Amazons, and the various rumors in regard to it, when they first sighted Afterwards, when they had examined it and found no Amazons in it, and no gold or silver, nor any precious thing, they would have forgotten it. But the name persisted as some other names have done, and was extended to a region better suited to it, and one that realized all their hopes. There were in it no cities roofed with gold, nor abounding in precious gems; but hidden wealth was there, though it waited to be enticed from its places of concealment by a sturdier race than theirs. In the fullness of time this race appeared, bringing with it new arts and activities, under whose magic touch the golden dreams of earlier days were more than realized. In a single generation the name of California replaced that of the Indies as a synonym for exuberant wealth, while its fame as a land of sunshine and flowers, producing all the necessaries, as well as the luxuries and superfluities of life, has caused those in all lands who are seeking health, rest or recreation, no less than its own people, to regard it as a country peculiarly blessed by nature, and one indeed "not far from the terrestrial paradise."

CHAPTER II. DISCOVERY



EOPLE who are accustomed to turn to their daily papers for the time tables of railroad and steamship lines, or who know that by inquiry at the nearest ticket office they may ascertain not only the hour when steamers depart. but approximately at least, the day and the hour when they will arrive in any port in the world, will not readily comprehend, without reflection, and perhaps not without some research, how different things were four hundred years ago, when exploration of this coast was just beginning. The early explorers not only sailed in unknown and uncharted seas, but their ships were of the same pattern as, and no better than those in which Columbus had sailed; probably they were not as good. All were built on this coast, where the means for shipbuilding were few. As all the metal required for their construction, as well as the cordage, and such other material as nature did not provide near the hastily improvised shipyards, had to be carried across Mexico on men's shoulders, great economy was certainly practised in the use of everything but wood. They were wholly unprotected by metal sheathings below the water line, so that from the moment they were launched, the teredo, that worm which old Hakluyt says "many times pearceth and eateth through the strongest oake," was at work in them. The ravages of this pest were particularly rapid in the warm waters of the tropics, and the ships of all the early discoverers suffered much by them. Columbus lost one of his vessels, during his fourth voyage, from this cause, and he was compelled to beach the others, which he says were "bored as full of holes as a honeycomb," on

the coast of Jamaica in order to repair them. Vespucius also lost a ship on the coast of Sierra Leone, and Gil Gonzales Davila a small fleet that he had built with much labor, on the west shore of Panama, before he had made much use of it—all from the same cause.

Most of the ships built by Cortés, and some of those used by Cabrillo and Viscaino were mere sloops without decks, like those built by Balboa. They were all clumsily designed and badly constructed; they were poor sailers at best, and very difficult to manage in stormy weather, such as all encountered. They were badly provided with everything required either for the subsistence, health or the safety of their crews, and they furnished them little protection from the weather. Scurvy began to afflict them soon after they had put to sea, and it was not until the exploration of the coast was nearly completed that the means of combating it were accidently discovered; sometimes so many of the crew were disabled by it that there were hardly enough left to work the ship even in moderate weather.

The instruments by which they fixed their course, or made their reckonings at sea were of the most primitive kind. They knew the use of the compass, could find their latitude approximately, but their longitude they had no means of computing. For finding their latitude they had a wooden cross-staff, or a metal astrolabe, the one about as difficult to handle and as unreliable as the other. The use of either required the observer to look in two directions at the same time,

and when the observation was taken the computation was made without the use of decimals or a table of logarithms.

Nautical Almanacs were unknown for nearly two hundred years following their time; even such a simple contrivance as a log line had not been invented, nor had the length of a degree been more than approximately determined. The latitude of even the most prominent places on land had not been accurately computed, that of London being nearly half a degree, and that of Malta more than a degree and a half out of the way. Under such circumstances it is hardly surprising that Sir Cloudsley Shovel should have lost his fleet and his life in the English Channel, by a miscalculation of latitude in 1707; that Admiral Wheeler's squadron should have run on Gibraltar in 1694, when he thought it had passed the strait, or that Cabrillo's reckonings should have been sometimes more than two degrees in error in 1542; nor should we continue to distrust poor old Juan de Fuca's story of the discovery by him, of the strait which now bears his name, because he said it was between 47° and 48° north, whereas it is really between 48° and 49°.

Most of the explorers had to contend with difficulties of an even more perplexing character than those presented by their own imperfect knowledge, their imperfect instruments, and their frail and worm-eaten ships; for they were hindered and embarrassed in many ways by the stupidity or malevolence of those in authority over them. Cortés is reported to have remarked late in life that he had experienced more trouble and difficulty from the menaces and affronts

of those in authority than it had cost him to conquer Mexico.*

How far Cortés explored the peninsula, after he reached it early in May, 1535, is not known, but as he remained in it something more than a year, it may be presumed with safety that he did more than we now Men of his restless and indomitable energy leave nothing undone that it is possible to accomplish. He had with him a goodly number of soldiers, and his ships were immediately sent back to the mainland, to bring over the remainder of those who had marched north with him to punish Guzman. With this force, and with the aid of such of the four ships he had at his command in the beginning, as were not required to bring supplies from Tehuantepec, he probably pushed a long way north along the gulf coast, and sufficiently far into the interior to ascertain the true character of the country. He at least satisfied himself that there were no Amazons in it, no cities nor peoples worth plundering, no mines and no country that could be profitably colonized. At any rate it is certain that he remained until his soldiers were more than worn out with what they were required to do, for Bernal Diaz says that all were discontented, some had died of want and disease, some were on the verge of mutiny and "cursed Cortés, his island, his bay and his discovery."

While he was engaged in this unprofitable exploration, strange news reached New Spain. It was brought by a party of three unkempt, naked and bedraggled Spaniards and a negro, whom one of Guzman's exploring expeditions had encountered in the northern part

^{*} Herrera, History of the Indies, decad III, lib. LV, Cap. 3.

HERRERA'S TITLE PAGE, YOL. II.

METAIRIQUESTION

DIEGO VELASQUEZ and the sailing of the fleet under and his taking possession of the Cortés for the Conquest of Mexico. Pacific Ocean, September 29, 1513.

PANAMA AND THE PORT OF PERICO

MEXICAN IDOLS AND COSTUMES OF AZTEC WARRIORS

JUAN DE GRIJALVA Discoverer of Mexico, and his fight with the natives.

VASCO NUNEZ DE BALBOA

SANTA MARIA DEL ANTIGUA DEL DARIEN

MONTEZUMA GOING TO THE TEMPLE

LIVING SACRIFICE

JUAN PONCE DE LEON and his combat with the Indians of Florida.

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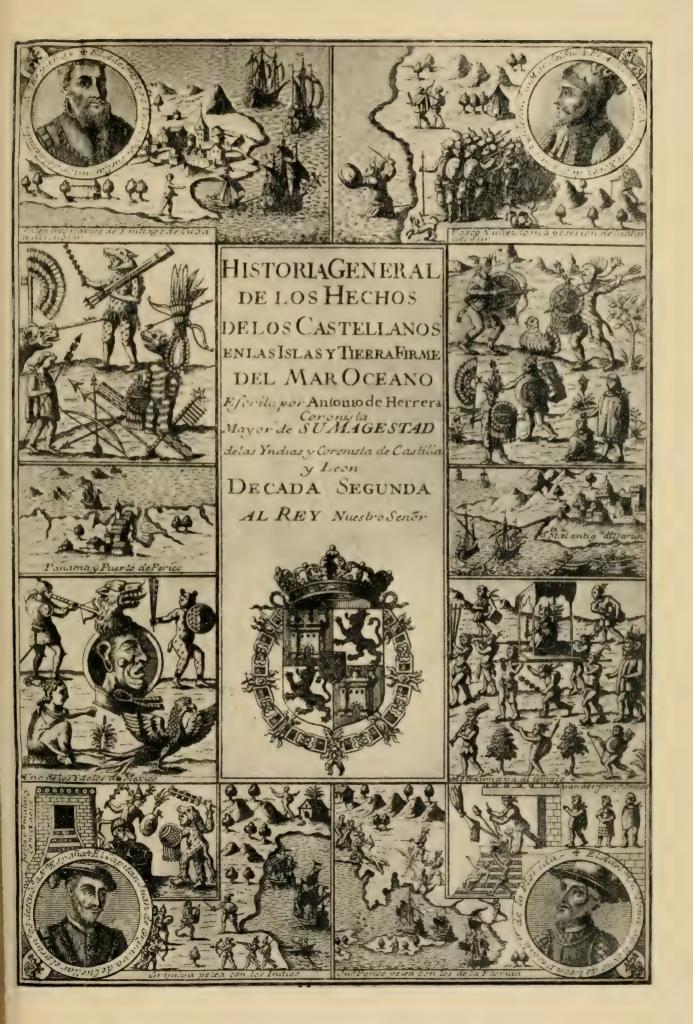
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of his province near the coast. The leader of the party was Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, who had been second in command of the ill-fated expedition led by Pánfilo Narvaez to the coast of Florida in 1527. They had been shipwrecked somewhere on the northern coast of the gulf, in that year, and had been enslaved for a long time by the Indians who had rescued them from drowning. They managed to escape at last, and after wandering across Texas, they had nearly crossed Mexico to the coast, when, for the first time in seven years, they met people who spoke their own language.

These wanderers did not claim to have seen any indication of wealth or civilization in the broad stretch of country through which they had been the first European travelers; but they had heard much of rich and populous cities farther north. This news had first greatly excited the cupidity of Guzman, but he gained no advantage from it, being unable to send an expedition so far, and he was obliged to forward the party who brought it to the viceroy. This was Don Antonio de Mendoza, who had superseded the Royal Audencia, as the supreme authority in New Spain. He was envious of the fame Cortés had won as conqueror of the country, and ambitious to distinguish his administration as viceroy, by some exploit that would permit his own reputation to compare favorably with that of the conqueror. Nothing better could be wished for than an opportunity to discover and conquer rich cities in neighboring territory, and annex them to his province, and he immediately set about arming and preparing an expedition for that purpose.

The story had also appealed strongly to the Franciscan friars then in New Spain, who were earnestly seeking a means to save the Indians from the cruelties of some of their countrymen. The mission system, afterwards so generally used for more than two centuries as a means of reducing them to a more settled mode of living, as well as instructing them in the Catholic faith, had not yet been developed, and they had no better means of reaching them than that of going, one by one, into their camps and villages, and offering something the meaning of which they could only with the utmost difficulty make them understand. They proposed to send one of their number to explore the country and visit the rich cities which Cabeza's party had heard of, and, as this might be done while the military expedition was preparing, the viceroy accepted.

Father Marcos de Niza, who had been in Peru with Pizzaro, and had had much experience among the Indians of Mexico, as well as South America, was chosen for the enterprise. He accordingly set forth from Culiacan, on March 7, 1539, accompanied by only one other priest, a few Indians and the negro named Estevanico, who had been one of Cabeza's party in its wanderings, to act as guide and interpreter.

He appears to have traveled as far north as the pueblos of the Zuni Indians. As he advanced, the savages came to him in considerable numbers, displaying the greatest curiosity, listening attentively to his preaching, accepting his presents, and promising to accept his religion. With the generosity and liberality

of their race, in such matters, they told him as much as they could guess of what he wished to be told. As he asked about rich cities, they answered him that there were a number of them some days journey in advance. The credulous friar was delighted with the prospects of success, both in the matter of making conversions and discoveries, and pressed forward. But his guide spoiled all. Taking advantage of the general good feeling to make himself a little more prominent than he had been in the undertaking so far, he gathered a party of young Indians to accompany him, and set out as advance messenger of the embassy, to assemble the tribes and prepare the way for the friar's visit. But the story he told was so strange, and so lacking in consistency, as first to awaken suspicion and then alarm, and he and some of his companions were attacked and killed.

The good friar did what he could to repair the damage thus done to his prospects; but the tribesmen who had killed his messenger would not permit him to enter their village. In fact his life was threatened and he was obliged to turn back. But he was near one of the strange cities of which he had heard so much, and had made so many inquiries, and he was determined, if possible, to see it, even from a distance if he could obtain no other view. He contrived, after pretending to set out on his return, to elude observation long enough to ascend a hill in the neighborhood, from the top of which he obtained a distant view of one of those strange, communal structures found in New Mexico and Arizona, since so interestingly described by Mr.

F. H. Cushing.* It seemed to him to consist of stone buildings, two, three and four stories in height, and was in the country of Cibola.†

By the time he returned to New Spain in July, 1539, he had a wonder-story to tell, though the most wonderful part of it, like Cabeza's, was not about things he had seen, but about things he had heard of. He was assured also that the country farther north-beyond the thirty-fifth parallel, which he supposed he had reached—was very prosperous, and abounding in gold, silver, and precious stones. Much of it was under a high state of cultivation. Best of all, there were in it many towns, and seven large and prosperous cities, only one of which he had seen. They contained as many as twenty thousand stone houses, some of which were four and five stories high, and richly adorned with jewels. The one he had seen was not the largest of the seven, by any means, for he had been told that the one farthest north was the largest and richest of all.t

As soon as the contents of Friar Marcos' report to the viceroy became known, the old story of seven cities was instantly recalled to every mind. Stories of their wealth and importance were on every tongue, and the viceroy hurried forward the preparation of the expedition he already had on foot for their conquest.

Meantime the indefatigable Cortés, on hearing the news Cabeza and his fellow wanderers had brought,

^{*} Century Magazine, Dec., 1882, Feb., 1883, and May, 1883.

[†] Country of the buffalo.

There were seven of these Zuni pueblos at that time, although most of them no longer exist, and the sites of some have never been definitely located.

had redoubled his energies. He happened to have three ships nearly ready for sea at the time, and hastily completing their preparation he dispatched them toward the north, under command of Francisco de Ulloa. This was the last exploring expedition he sent out, but it accomplished more than all the others. Before it returned he was obliged to go to Spain to defend himself from the attacks of his enemies, and he never again saw the country he had conquered, and striven so persistently to explore.

The three ships, the Santa Agueda, the Trinidad, and a smaller craft designed for exploring bays and inlets, and cruising among islands-in which service it could be more easily managed than the larger vessels—sailed from Acapulco on the 8th of July, 1539. They followed the coast of the mainland without special incident, until near Culiacan, where the smaller vessel was driven ashore in a storm and lost. The other two kept on their course until they found the shore appearing on either side, and their further progress arrested by their coming quite together. land on the west side, hitherto supposed to be an island, was now proved to be a part of the mainland, and the ships were sailing in a bay or gulf, which Ulloa named the Gulf of Cortés, in honor of his employer. This name, like most of those given to other places he discovered, as well as those given by Cabrillo, the greatest of his successors, has now fallen into disuse, giving place to those applied by men less worthy to give them.

Turning now toward the south, Ulloa followed and examined the western shore to the little bay which Cortés had named Santa Cruz, where he arrived on

October 18th. Ten days later he rounded the point of the peninsula, and began the exploration of its western side. For a long time his progress was impeded by adverse winds, by which his ships were twice separated and reunited. On January 5th they came in sight of two islands, one of them much larger than any they had so far seen. It was thought to be twenty leagues in circumference, and on some of its hills were groves of tall, slender trees, from which they named it Isla de los Cedros, or Isle of Cedars. Here they found a fairly comfortable harbor, and were compelled to remain in it most of the time for nearly three months, because of almost continuous storms and adverse winds. Most of the sailors became discouraged; many were afflicted with scurvy, and clamorous to be returned home. Finally after making a number of fruitless efforts to get farther north, Ulloa yielded to the demands of the sick and disaffected, and sent them back in the Santa Agueda, which was the larger ship but the poorer sailer. With the Trinidad, and a few of his sailors who had more courage than the others, he made one more dash toward the north; but he did not get far. About twenty leagues north of the island he sighted a cape, probably Point Baja, which he supposed to be in 30° north latitude. As the northwest winds would not let him pass, or even approach it, he called it Cabo Engaño, the Cape of Deceit; and turning southward he returned to New Spain, where he was shortly after murdered.

The results of this voyage were few but not without value. Lower California was shown to be a peninsula and not an island, though it was long afterward spoken

MAP OF THE NEW WORLD

Reproduced from Herrera's Historia de las Indias Occidentales, 1726.

Note the line of Pope Alexander VI. The "parte oriental" has been moved some 2500 miles west of its true position, thus giving Spain the islands of the Pacific.

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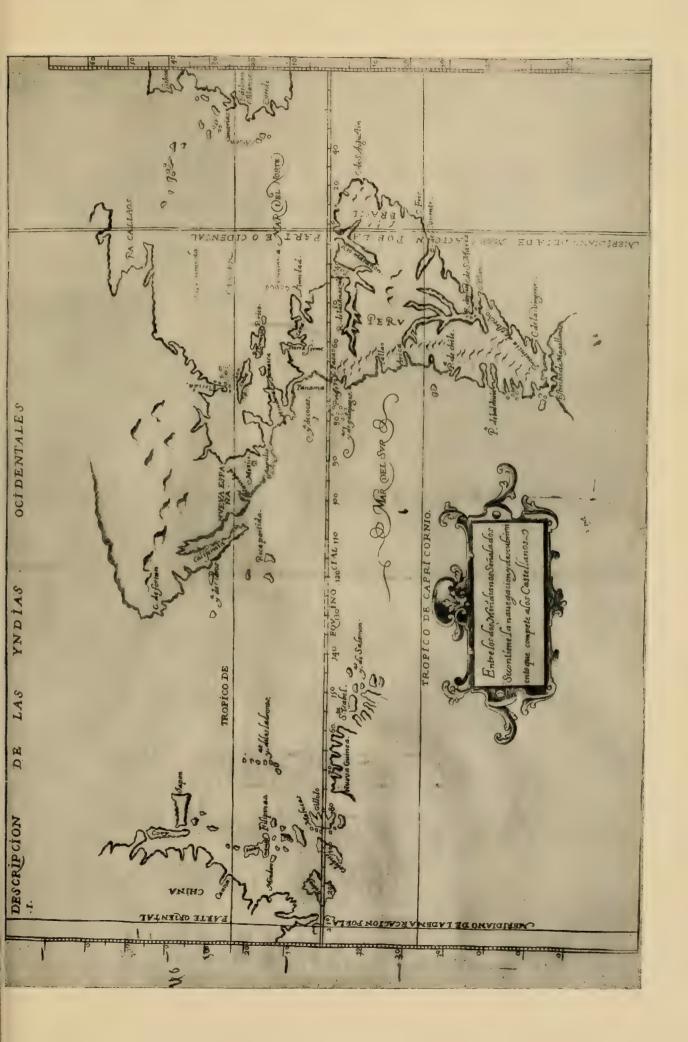
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of as such, and many maps were made that so represented it. Throughout the greater part of its length it was shown to be but sparsely inhabited, and incapable of supporting a large population. It had no rich cities, and there was no Strait of Anian crossing it. Later explorers, searching for cities and a strait, would therefore have no need to examine it further; yet most of them did so, and so wasted time they might have employed to greater advantage farther north.

Before Ulloa returned, the viceroy whose preparations had been embarrassed in various ways, had dispatched his land expedition northward from Culiacan. Command of it was given to Francisco Vasquez de Coronado; and it was to follow the route, which Friar Marcos had described, to Cibola and the seven cities. A maritime expedition commanded by Fernando de Alarcon, was also made ready and dispatched up the gulf which Ulloa had so recently explored, to be of such assistance in making the hoped for discovery and conquest, as might be possible. Reaching the head of the gulf, Alarcon found a great river—which Ulloa had apparently not seen—emptying into it, and called it Rio de Nuestra Señora de Buena Guía.* Up this river he made two voyages in his small boats, one of them to a distance of eighty leagues, as he claimed, but found no cities though he heard much about Cibola from the Indians, who told him many fabulous stories, of most of which he could make nothing. Finally fearing treachery, or the monsters and enchanters about which the Indians talked much, he returned to Acapulco.

^{*} So named in honor of the Viceroy who bore on his arms an image of Nuestra Señora de Buena Guia (Our Lady of Safe Conduct).

Coronado made a far more extended and creditable exploration, though it had but little effect on the discovery of the real California. As his party proceeded northward, over mountains and across deserts, he gathered abundant evidence of the incorrectness of the story Friar Marcos had told. He, however, pressed courageously forward, into what is now Arizona, crossed the Gila, and bearing northward and eastward, at last reached what is now northeastern Kansas. The party was absent nearly two years, during which time Coronado supposed he had reached a point as far north as the fortieth parallel, though all latitude reckonings made at this time were too high, sometimes more than two degrees. He found Cibola, which he named Granada, and some of the Zuni pueblos, but they were far different from the strongly built and richly decorated cities which Father Marcos had described. The highly cultivated regions, and the abundant gold, silver, and gems which he had reported, were nowhere found, though much of the country traversed was agreeable, and some of his soldiers were so pleased with it that they wished to remain in it. He heard much about a rich country in the north, called Quivira, which was said to be ruled by an old man with a long beard who worshipped a cross of gold set with many precious gems, but when he reached it, he found only Indian wigwams where he expected strongly built cities. There were no cultivated fields, no gold mines, and no precious gems-just a vast prairie through which he had traveled many days, and over which roamed countless thousands of buffalo. His guides and the Indians he had met had deceived him, just as they had ANTONIO DE MENDOZA
First Viceroy of New Spain
Born about 1485; died at Lima, Peru, July 21, 1552.
From Alaman's "Disertaciones sobre La Historia de la Republica Megicana."

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deceived Father Marcos. And they had yet one other story to tell—possibly because they learned from the questions asked, what would please him most. They said that still further north there was a great arm of the ocean, or perhaps the ocean itself, in which great ships had been seen.

When he returned home with this news, it aroused the liveliest interest. Some people persisted in believing, or at least supposing, that there might still be a Quivira much farther north, and quite as rich as it had been described; and it was long after talked about. But much keener interest was taken in the story of the ocean, or great arm of it; perhaps this was the long sought Strait of Anian, and if so there was the utmost need of finding it and fortifying it at once; for the possessions of the King of Spain in the Pacific might seriously be menaced if some other nation should first discover it.

Viceroy Mendoza was now better prepared than anyone who could venture to compete with him for the honors and advantages of discovery, since Cortés had returned to Spain to remain there until his death. Alvarado, one of Cortés' principal lieutenants during the conquest, had procured permission from the king to undertake an independent enterprise for conquest and discovery, both by sea and land, toward the north along the gulf, and working in harmony with the viceroy, had advanced so far with his preparations as to build some ships, and employ a Portuguese navigator named Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo to command them, when he was killed by his horse falling on him in a skirmish with Indians. The enterprise being thus

left without a head Mendoza availed himself of the preparations made, confirmed the appointment of Cabrillo, and gave him command of two ships, which were speedily made ready for an expedition of discovery.

The instructions given to Cabrillo were much like those which Cortés had given to his captains. He was to explore the outer shore as far toward the north as possible, and particularly to be watchful for the long looked for Strait of Anian. He was also to look for cities and rich countries.

With two small ships, the San Salvador and La Victoria, the latter without a deck, he sailed from Puerto de Navidad, which was about twenty miles northwest of the present harbor of Manzanillo, at noon on Tuesday, June 27, 1542. The weather was not very favorable; and they were a little more than five days cruising northward along the coast, and crossing the entrance to the Gulf of California. They arrived at the little harbor at the lower end of the peninsula, which Cortés had named Santa Cruz, on Sunday.*

Most people who have written heretofore of or about the early explorations of our coast, have found it difficult, and often impossible to identify the points

^{*} Ulloa had spoken of it as Santa Cruz, when he visited it, but later it obtained the name Puerto de Marques del Valle, in honor of Cortés, to whom the Emperor had given the title of Marques del Valle del Oxaca, in 1528. Some modern writers, following Mr. Greenhow, have supposed this harbor to be identical with La Paz, which is much farther north, but Prof. George Davidson is confident that "a nice cove, three-quarters of a mile deep" on the south side of Cape Pulmo is the harbor meant. Its latitude is 23° 23'; Cabrillo makes it 24° "and more" but all his calculations place him too far north. His error here is only 0° 37'. Had he been at La Paz which is fully one hundred miles farther north, it would have been greater, well as in the opposite direction, which would have been an exception. They were at "the point of California" according to Ferrelo's record, and remained there two days.

mentioned, particularly by the earlier discoverers; but Professor Davidson, who came to this coast in 1850 and was for more than fifty years connected with our Coast Survey, and for a large part of that time in charge of it, in which employment he enjoyed unusual facilities for making a minute study of the matter, early began to compare the reports left by the Spaniards and by Drake, with the observations and measurements made in his own work as it proceeded. While he was in command of the surveying brig, R. H. Fauntleroy, he had these reports incidentally, but almost constantly before him, and was thus able to compare the coast with their descriptions, and their reckonings with his own, made with more perfect instruments and under such conditions as accuracy required. At the same time he prepared and published a Coast Pilot for California, Oregon and Washington, which ran through four editions during his lifetime. As a result of his investigations he prepared a most interesting paper, in which he gives his conclusions as to the identity of every point named by Ulloa, Cabrillo and Ferrelo, Drake, and Viscaino and Aguilar, from Point San Lucas to and beyond the Oregon line.* He also makes an interesting comparison of the reckonings made by Cabrillo and Ferrelo-Ulloa and Viscaino rarely give their reckonings—which shows that they always supposed themselves to be farther north than they really were and that their error generally increased as they

^{*} This paper was printed in the report of the U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey for 1886, as Appendix No. 7, and was entitled "An Examination of some of the Early Voyages of Discovery and Exploration on the Northwest Coast of America, from 1539 to 1603." By Prof. George Davidson, A.M., Ph.D., Assistant U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey.

advanced; when the weather was stormy they were generally greater than at other times, due no doubt to the difficulty of holding their clumsy instruments in the position required for making their observations.*

From Santa Cruz they sailed to the Puerto San Lucas-which is just under the cape-where they refilled their water casks, and then started northward along the coast. Their progress was leisurely, probably for the reason that their ships were poor sailers, and it was not until Thursday, the 28th day of September, that they first sighted the coast of the present state. Three full months had elapsed since they left La Navidad. They had been delayed somewhat by adverse winds, but had encountered no very severe storms. They had discovered Magdalena Bay, which they called El Puerto de San Pedro, Pequeña Bay, which they called El Puerto de la Magdalena, and Port San Bartolomé, which they called El Puerto de San Pedro Vincula, which is the best harbor on the west coast of the peninsula—as well as several other small harbors, and several islands which Ulloa appears not to have seen. They spent some days in the neighborhood of Cedros Island where Ulloa had wintered, and on Sunday, August 20th, they reached Point Baja, which Prof. Davidson thinks is the Cabo del Engaño of Ulloa.

^{*}Some of their more noteworthy errors are the following, always toward the north: Cape Corrientes 05'; Cape Pulmo 37'; Santa Marina Bay 40'; Magdalena Bay 58'; Ballenos Bay 45'; Island of San Roque 51'; Port San Bartolomé 51' "and more"; Cedros Island 58'; La Playa Maria Bay 65' "scant"; Point Baja 64'; Port San Quentin 66'; Grajero or Banda Point 75'; Todos Santos Bay 89'; Los Coronados I lands 95'; San Diego Bay 100'; Santa Monica Bay 60'; San Buenaventura 63'; Gaviota Pass 73'; Point Conception 123'; Point Pinos 88'; Black Mountain 91'; Drake's Bay 60'; the Northwest Cape 89' "and more."

They found the shores of the peninsula nearly everywhere rising abruptly from the sea, presenting a bare and uninviting appearance. They seemed to be almost uninhabited, for they saw but few Indians. of the islands were covered with cedar and other trees, some of them of considerable size; the others, like the mainland, were apparently not only uninhabited, but uninhabitable. As they advanced northward the prospect improved. Opposite the island of San Bernardo, the mainland had "a very good appearance" according to Ferrelo's journal, "with good valleys and some trees." At Port San Quentin, a few leagues further north, they came to anchor, and Cabrillo went on shore and took formal possession of the country, in the name of the king and the Viceroy Mendoza. This ceremony he repeated a few days later at Point San Tomas. Here, as at Port San Quentin they found quite a number of Indians, who were very timid at first, but finding their strange visitors inclined to be friendly, were soon reassured. Communication with them could be had only by signs, but the Spaniards made out from these that some of them lived at a considerable distance in the interior, where they had been visited by strangers wearing beards, and who brought with them dogs and cross-bows and swords. This information they received with no little surprise, since they knew of no party that was likely to be exploring in that direction; and supposing perhaps that they might have come, or were coming across the continent from the Atlantic, Cabrillo gave the Indians a letter to be delivered to them when they should see them again.

As they continued their advance the prospect rapidly improved. The shores were less continuously abrupt and barren. In the valleys there was "regulation like that of Spain," and they saw in them "bands of animals like flocks of sheep, which went together by the hundred or more."*

Wednesday, September 27th, they passed the Coronados Islands, and on Thursday "discovered a port, enclosed and very good," to which they gave the name of El Puerto de San Miguel.† This was undoubtedly the harbor of San Diego, although some writers, doubtless because Ferrelo gives its latitude as 34½°, have supposed it to be that of San Pedro, which is in 33° 43′.

The ships dropped their anchors as soon as they were well within the harbor and remained there five days, during which they were overtaken by a violent storm, the first they had encountered during their voyage. It swept upon them from the "west, southwest and south-southwest" according to Ferrelo, "a very great tempest, but on account of the harbor being good they suffered nothing."

The Indians they found there watched them curiously, but were very timid, and it was quite difficult to get into communication with them. They attacked a small party sent on shore to try and take some fish, and wounded three of them with their arrows; but they were later convinced of the good intention; of their visitors and became quite friendly. It was not easy to get information from them, as neither

^{*} These were antelope.

[†] So named because they entered it on that saint's day.

party knew anything of the language of the other, and they could converse only by signs. By these, if the Spaniards rightly interpreted them, the Indians told a story much like that told by those at Port San Quentin, about white people in the interior, who wore beards and clothing. "They made gestures with the right arm as if throwing lances," says Ferrelo's account, "and went running in a posture as if riding horseback, and made signs that they killed many of the native Indians, and for this they were afraid."

This curious story was repeated so frequently by other Indians whom they encountered in great numbers as they proceeded along the coast, and through the Santa Barbara Channel, that Cabrillo at one time determined to send two sailors to communicate with these strangers, whoever they were, if they could be found. He was wholly unable to conjecture who they might be, for no party had been sent northward from Mexico since Coronado's, and he had returned before his own expedition had left La Navidad. Some authors have surmised that some of the mutineers who were reported to have been massacred in Santa Cruz, together with their leader Jimenez, when they landed there in 1533, may really have escaped, and subsequently strayed as far north as this, along the western side of the gulf; but it is wholly improbable. None of them were ever heard of after their companions who escaped last saw them, and no evidence of their presence, such as they would have been likely to leave, was ever found among the Indians of the peninsula, or in the country north of it.

It is possible that the Indians along the coast in this part of California, had heard of Coronado and his soldiers. Captain Melchoir Diaz of his party had crossed the Colorado into lower California, with a few soldiers, and been accidently killed there about two vears earlier. While on horseback he had thrown his lance at a dog but missed it, and the lance sticking in the ground he had ridden upon the handle which penetrated his abdomen. The signs made by the Indians may have been intended to describe this accident. They were of the same, or a kindred tribe, with those among whom this accident occurred, and news, particularly of an unusual or alarming kind was sometimes carried much farther among savages than would ordinarily be supposed. It is quite natural to suppose, however, that Cabrillo and his companions either misunderstood what the Indians told, or tried to tell them, or that they too clearly indicated by their own signs the nature of what they wished to know. The Indian is always obliging in the matter of giving information. He invariably wishes to appear to be well informed, and will glibly tell any story that the inquiries of a stranger seem to indicate it will please him to hear.* It is quite likely that the Spaniards, in this matter, were more successful in making signs than they supposed they were, and that the Indians formed their replies to suit the desires, or what they supposed to be the desires of their visitors.

^{*} Friar Marcos and Coronado had undoubtedly contributed to their own deception by indicating too plainly what they wished to be told, in inquiring about the Seven Cities, the nearness of the ocean or a strait, and Prester John, the old man with a long beard and a cross of gold set with gems; and Olid and Guzman's soddiers had made the same mistake in their anxious inquiries about the Amazons. The latter found out finally that the Indians were only echoing their own inquiries, and secretly laughing among themselves at the success of their deception.

The ships left San Diego Bay on Tuesday, October 3d, and for nearly a month were cruising along the coast northward, and through the Santa Barbara Channel, as far as Point Conception, which they called El Cabo de la Galera, because of "its length like a galley." At first they sailed close along the shore, observing it with interest, because they saw in it "many valleys, and much level ground, and many large smokes;" which indicated that it supported a numerous population. This was an agreeable change from the rugged and barren coast of the peninsula, along which they had been sailing. Toward evening of the first day after they had resumed their cruise, they sighted San Clemente and Santa Catalina Islands, which they named San Salvador and La Victoria, for their ships. These they visited on the following day and found them very populous. From Santa Catalina they sailed back toward the mainland, entered Santa Monica Bay, and then cruised leisurely along the coast until they sighted Point Galera on the T8th

So far the weather had been pleasant. They had made numerous stops at the Indian villages which they had found thickly scattered along the coast, at or near the mouth of nearly every creek and rivulet. They noted with satisfaction that the valleys and stretches of level land near the shore, and as far away as they could see, in many places seemed to be very fertile. The Indians, or some of them, lived in houses "like those in New Spain," wore considerable clothing made of skins, and had many canoes, some of which were large enough to carry twelve or thirteen persons,

and they managed them very dexterously. Because of the number of these, which were continuously about the ships while they were in the neighborhood of San Buenaventura, they called the place Los Pueblos de las Canoas. When they left this harbor a flotilla of canoes filled with Indians followed them along the shore of what is now Ventura and Santa Barbara counties. From the decks of their ships they had a fine view of the shore for a considerable distance inland, and they reported it "a very good country, with very good plains and many trees and cabins." The Indians told them that farther inland there were "many towns and much maize," which could be reached by three days' travel. They also spoke of Cae, which the Spaniards supposed to mean cows.

As they approached the site of the present town of Santa Barbara, and possibly when they were not far from the Carpentaria of the present day, they saw a long island toward the south, which they named San Lucas. Later they found it was really two islands, and still later they saw a third, and they now called them the Islands of San Lucas. These are the three islands lying south of Santa Barbara, and forming the south border of the channel. The explorers apparently did not intend to visit them immediately. The weather continued to be pleasant—"too fine" Cabrillo's journal says-and the ships advanced slowly, stopping at the Indian villages, which grew more and more numerous. The Indians continued friendly, and the flotilla of canoes which constantly attended the ships, increased daily. Their occupants regularly supplied the ships with fish, which they caught in large numbers, and as they approached the Gaviota Pass, they brought an abundance of fresh sardines, on account of which the place was named *El Puerto de las Sardinas*.

Near this place the pleasant weather which had attended them continuously since they had left San Diego Bay, began to change. A fresh northwest wind sprang up as they neared Point Conception, and the Indians, evidently sensing an approaching storm, ceased to follow them. Without attempting to round the point at this time, the ships bore to the south toward the islands, which those on board soon discovered to be three in number, instead of two as they had until that time supposed.* They took refuge from the storm in a sheltered cove, now known as Cuyler's Harbor, on the westernmost of the group, and remained there eight days. They found this island well populated with Indians, who received them cordially as those along the coast had done, and were easily induced by a few presents, to assist in replenishing the ships with wood and water.

While at this island Cabrillo met with an accident by which his arm was broken near the shoulder; and although he must have suffered severely and continuously as a result of it, during the little more than two months that he survived, it in no way relaxed his energies or lessened his determination to push his explorations to the farthest limit possible with the means he had.

^{*}When they first saw them, from the neighborhood of Buenaventura, the three lay so nearly in line that they appeared to be one. Later when off Santa Barbara they saw that there were two, and now they could see that there was a third They are known as Santa Cruz, Santa Rosa and San Miguel Islands.

On Wednesday, October 25th, they left the islands to resume their explorations. They made but little progress during the day, as the wind was not favorable; but during the night a strong wind accompanied by a cold rain and fog from the southwest sprang up and caused them much anxiety, as it drove them toward the shore. They endeavored to double Point Conception, but were unable to do so. Toward evening of the following day the wind turned to the south, very much to their relief, and they proceeded on their way to and beyond Point Argüello, where they found the shore trending toward the north, very abrupt and without any inviting opening that promised to give them shelter. There were indications that another storm was coming on, and as the wind was now from the west, crowding them toward the land, they stood out to sea until it should be over. This they did with great reluctance for the Indians had indicated that they should find the mouth of a great river* in the neighborhood, and they were anxious to examine it; but though they saw some indications of it, they did not dare to go near enough to land to find it.

For the next six days a storm prevailed, which prevented them from making any observations of the coast. The ships beat about, first on one tack and then on the other, but made no progress. The nights were very cold, and the sailors, many of whom were by this time afflicted with scurvy, suffered considerably. Finally on the evening of the sixth day, the wind, which now blew from the northwest, came with such violence that they "could not carry a palm of

^{*} The Santa inez.

sail" as Ferrelo says, and they were forced to seek shelter along the shore they had previously visited south of Point Conception. They first stopped at a small cove near the point, which they called Puerto de Todos Santos, but as there was no wood and but little water there, they soon left it and returned to the Puerto de las Sardinas, where the Indians gave them a joyful welcome. During the three days that they remained here the Indians helped reprovide the ships with wood and water, and after work was done each day, many of them remained on board, where they danced to the music made by the sailors with flutes and drums; and they were now on such good terms with their visitors that many of them slept on board, after they were weary with dancing.*

On Monday, the 6th of November, they set sail once more, but were not able to pass the point again until Friday, because the wind was light; but at night there was a strong breeze from the southeast, and next morning they found themselves twelve leagues farther north—about where they had been forced to put off shore, sixteen days earlier. The wind continued favorable, and they advanced rapidly along a bold coast, with a range of high mountains so close to it that they seemed almost to rise out of the sea. They watched carefully all day for the river they had been hoping to find and which they had already named

^{*} These Indians were apparently more comfortably provided than any found by these or other explorers in California. According to Cabrillo's diary "their houses were large, with double sloping roofs like those of New Spain, and their burying grounds were surrounded with boards." Ferrelo says they wore clothing made of "the skins of many kinds of animals; they eat acorns, and a grain which is as large as maize, and is white, of which they make tomales; it is good food."

Rio de Nuestra Señora, but they did not find it.* There was no opening anywhere in the range, and the shore promised them no shelter in case of a storm. named the range Las Sierras de San Martin.† At evening they saw a cape, a long distance ahead of them, which they called San Martin, and as they wished to observe the coast by daylight, they stood out to sea for a distance of about six leagues, intending to hold their position until morning; but about four o'clock a storm came on from the southeast, with such violence that they were compelled to run before it. They could not keep up a handbreadth of sail; they were in an unknown ocean upon whose shore they might be tossed at any moment and dashed to pieces. When they had last seen the shore it was trending steadily toward the northwest, the direction in which the storm was driving them; but they had hitherto supposed, as was the general opinion of the time, that at some point not very far northward, it would be found bearing sharply toward the west, until it united with that of Asia. In fact they had set out hoping that they might soon find Asia and the Indies, which all were then so eagerly seeking, and consequently they supposed themselves to be in much greater danger than they really were.

During the night the ships became so far separated that when morning broke neither could see the other. The sailors were very greatly alarmed, those on either ship fearing that the others had been lost, and judging by that, that their own escape had been a narrow one.

^{*} They had passed it on the night of the eleventh, when they were sailing so easily before a favorable wind.

[†] Sixt: years later Viscaino named this same range La Sierra de Santa Lucia, by which name it is now known.

As the day advanced the storm increased in violence. The lowering clouds from which the rain fell steadily, made it difficult to see whether they were in open water, or near a dangerous coast, and in their despair, those on the San Salvador, after throwing overboard everything from the deck that would lighten the ship, betook themselves to their prayers, "and vowed a pilgrimage to our Lady of the Rosary, and the blessed Mother of Pity, and she favored them with a little fair weather."

The storm continued all that day and through the night until about noon on Monday, when it began to abate, and toward evening the wind changed to the west. The La Victoria, which appears to have been farthest from the shore, now turned toward it in search of her consort, and hoping to find some place of shelter; but no land was sighted until the following morning. Then they saw a high bold shore, such as they had last seen before the storm overtook them, and as it offered no hope of shelter, they sailed along it all day, until evening when they "perceived the land at a point which projects into the ocean which forms a cape, and the point is covered with trees, and is in forty degrees." They named this point Cabo de Pinos.

Professor Davidson has identified this point as the high shoulder of the coast range which overhangs Fort Ross Cove. It was the distinguishing landmark for the Russian Colony there.*

During this storm the frail ships of these explorers had been driven north through nearly three degrees

^{*} As usual, Ferrelo's reckoning places him too far north. The latitude of the Cape is 38° 31'.

of latitude. How far they had gone out to sea it is of course impossible to know, but they must have passed outside the Farallones. No part of the long stretch of coast between Cape San Martin and Fort Ross Cove had been examined, and for this reason, and perhaps also because the season was late and the weather stormy and cold, the ships were turned southward from this point, after they had found each other as they did on the evening of Wednesday, November 15th. On Thursday morning they arrived at a large gulf, which Ferrelo described as "formed by a change of direction of the shore, which appeared to have a port and a river; and they went beating about day and night, and the Friday following, until they saw that there was no river, nor shelter." As the land near it was "all covered with pines to the sea, they named it La Bahía de Los Pinos. They cast anchor in forty-five fathoms, intending to land and take possession, but the sea was so rough that they could not do so." Cabrillo speaks of that bay as a "great gulf that looked like a harbor." It was doubtless the Gulf of the Farallones, and they were near Drake's Bay, as they found its latitude to be "39° and more," which is only a little more than one degree too high about their usual error.*

^{*} Professor Davidson says "the 'great gulf' of Cabrillo may possibly be intended to embrace the bay from Point Reyes to Point Bonita, or even to Point San Pedro. It could not have been Bodega Bay, because this has no characteristics of a great gulf, and there have been no pines upon Bodega Head, Point Tomales, or the eastern shore of the bay, since its occupation in the last fifty years; nor is there any indication of such growth previously. On the other hand, a part of the ridges and all the gulches from Mount Tamalpais are even yet forest clad. This is quite a marked feature from seaward. Moreover the reported latitude carries the location of the Gulf of the Farallones."



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From this point they ran down the coast to the cape which they had named San Martin, which may have been Point Pinos at the entrance of the Bay of Monterey, which is in latitude 36° 30'; they made it 38°. They did not see the bay because of the storm, and they must have passed it late in the afternoon, probably so near evening that it was not possible to see the character of the shore at any considerable distance. They had now been driven about by the storm for a full week, and much of the time in extreme danger, as they supposed, and all on board must have been so nearly exhausted that careful and continuous observation would be difficult. Under the circumstances it is almost surprising that any observation for latitude was taken.

It is evident that the ships took a course southward, and generally parallel with the coast, on leaving Drake's Bay, and that they kept well off shore as the Golden Gate was not sighted, nor either of the points on its north and south sides seen. Ferrelo says: "all the coast they passed that day is very bold, and there is a great swell of the sea, and the land is very lofty; there are mountains that rise to the sky, and the sea beats upon them. While sailing near the land it appears as if they would fall upon the ships; they are covered with snow to the summit." They called this range the Sierra Nevadas, and a flank of Black Mountain, which seemed to them to jut out into the sea, as they were a considerable distance from it, they called Cabo de Nieve.

This was the last point named by them on this voy-

age. From Cape San Martin* they returned to San Miguel Island, because they found no other inviting harbor along the coast, and there was a cold northwest wind blowing, with a very rough sea. They took refuge in the sheltered nook east of Harris Point, to which they had resorted when the stormy weather first began, and where the Indians again received them with a hearty welcome.

Here on the 3d of January, 1543, Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo died, and his companions buried him in a grave which, like that of Moses, "no man knoweth the place thereof unto this day." His broken arm appears to have caused his death. If so he must have suffered intensely and continually from it during all the terrible experience the expedition had encountered in its cruise northward. But his courage had not been lessened by it, nor his resolution impaired in any way. "He charged them much, at the time of his death," Ferrelo says, "that they would not give up the discovery, as far as possible, of all that coast."

He was a native of Portugal, in the employ of Spain, as Magellan was; and these two bold navigators did more to increase the possessions of Spain in the Pacific than all others, as Columbus and Vespucius, who were Italians, had done most for it on the Atlantic side. He was the real discoverer of California; but his name is

^{*} Not the Cape San Martin of the present day, which was so named by the Coast Surveyors many years later, but the cape which they saw on the evening of November 11th, when they drew off shore to wait until morning, and encountered the storm which drove them so far north. They were, at the time, as Prof. Davidson thinks, fully sixty miles south of the northern termination of the range at Carmel Bay, which they probably mistook for a cape, and called it Cape San Martin.

commemorated by no prominent landmark on its coast that he was first to observe. After his death, his companions named the island on which he was buried, Juan Rodriguez, in his honor, but it has since given place to another name which is meaningless.*

When the ships reached this island on the 23d of November the smaller one was sadly in need of repair—in fact in a sinking condition. She was repaired and make staunch again, although the weather was very cold, snow covering the hills on the islands and mainland, even to the sea. A strong wind swept through the channel almost continually, and sometimes the sea was so rough, even in the harbor where they were, that they were unable to go on shore for days together.

It was not until the 19th of January that Ferrelo, who had been left in command, began to make preparations to resume explorations toward the north. On that day he put off for the mainland, intending to resupply the ships with such provisions as he could

Cabrillo's Names

El Puerto de San Miguel
La Isla de San Salvador
La Isla de la Victoria
La Bahía de las Fumas
Los Pueblos de las Canoas
El Cabo de la Galera
El Puerto de la Posesión
El Puerto de Todos Santos
El Puerto de las Sardinas
El Rio de Nuestra Señora
Las Sierras de San Martin
El Cabo de San Martin
La Bahía de Pinos
Cabo de Pinos

Cabo de Nieve

Present Names

San Diego
Santa Catalina
San Clemente Island
Santa Monica Bay
San Buenaventura
Point Conception
Cuyler's Harbor
El Coxo Anchorage
Gaviota Anchorage
Purisima River
Santa Lucia Mountains
Point Pinos
Point Reyes
Northwest Cape
Black Mountain

^{*} All the names which he and Ferrelo gave to points along the coast have also been changed. Probably no other discoverers have been so badly treated in this respect as they. The following are among the most important changes:

obtain at Port Sardinas; but a heavy storm came down upon them from the northwest, and they were driven about among the islands for eight days, without finding any safe harbor until they returned again to that which they had left. Various other attempts to start northward were made, but it was not until February 18th that they got safely away, sailing toward the southwest in search of some islands which the Indians had indicated they would find there. There was a moderate wind from the northeast, and at evening of that day they saw six islands, two of which, Santa Barbara and San Nicholas, they had not seen before. Here another storm overtook them and drove them about a hundred leagues, as they supposed, toward the southwest, where after beating about for five days, they turned again toward the north hoping to reach the Point Pinos where their former voyage had ended-and resume their explorations. The storm continued, the wind shifting frequently, and always blowing with great violence. Finally on the morning of Sunday, February 25th, they caught sight of the point they were looking for, though it was as they estimated twenty leagues away. The sea was so rough that they were afraid to approach the shore, and as the storm was increasing they kept on toward the north all that day. Toward evening they caught sight of Point Arena, but did not name it. The next day, though still sailing well off the coast, they saw the lofty mountains near Point Delgada, "and they called it El Cabo de Fortunas, on account of the many dangers which they had experienced in those days."

During the three succeeding days the wind changed frequently and often blew so fiercely that the sailors lost all hope, and as they had done before, repeated many prayers and made many vows of pious pilgrimages to be made in case of their deliverance. Those in the Victoria, having little shelter from wind or rain, were constantly drenched to the skin and nearly frozen. They could nowhere see the land, and were driven past Cape Mendocino before the storm began to abate on Wednesday, when they were able to make an observation, which showed them to be in latitude 43°; on the day following another observation showed them to be in 44°. They now saw freshly uprooted trees floating on the water, which indicated that they were not far off shore, and in the neighborhood of some great river, as they thought; but they saw no land; and as they had nothing to eat except biscuit that had been more or less damaged by salt water, they made no more effort to get farther north and turned homewards.

Because of the evidences mentioned that they were near the mouth of some great river, it is supposed that they were as far north as the mouth of Rogue River in Oregon, which is in latitude 42° 30′. The expedition had therefore sailed along the whole coast of California, although but little of it north of Fort Ross Cove had been seen. This may therefore fairly be considered the most successful of all the coast exploring expeditions sent out by the Spaniards during the whole period of discovery.



CHAPTER III. THE PHILIPPINE SHIPS



THEN Ferñao de Magelhaes, better known to us as Ferdinand Magellan, discovered the strait that still bears his name, and crossing the Pacific arrived at the Philippine Islands, which he called Islas de San Lazaro, he really opened the westward route to the Indies, which Spanish navigators had been so earnestly seeking for nearly forty years, and which the Spanish government had been more than anxious they should find. way to the Orient now lay open, but Spain reaped no immediate advantage from it. The Council of the Indies which had misunderstood and mismanaged affairs in the newly discovered lands from the beginning, was even more incompetent than ever in the presence of this new opportunity and increased responsibility, and another forty years and more went by before a single ship brought a cargo of India goods from the west to Spain. Even then it did not bring them by way of the straits. Meantime the ships of Portugal regularly went and came, by way of the Cape of Good Hope, and her possessions in the far East steadily increased.

Efforts on the part of the Spanish authorities to take advantage of this latest and newest discovery were not wanting; but they were badly planned and quite as badly managed. As soon as the *Victoria*—the only one of Magellan's five ships to complete this first voyage round the globe—had arrived in the Port of San Lucas, on September 6, 1522, and Pigafetta, the historian of the voyage, had presented to Charles V the "book written by my hand, of all the things that occurred day by day in our voyage," plans were laid

and preparations begun for a new expedition to lay claim to what Magellan had discovered. No doubt matters were expedited as much as was possible under the clumsy system which then prevailed, because it was realized that the Islas de Poniente lay on the opposite side of the globe, and possibly near to where the line designated by Pope Alexander would lie, if extended to that side; and as there were then no means of computing longitude, ownership would most likely depend on possession and the power to keep it. Therefore there was need for haste; and yet an expedition was not got ready until 1525.

Its seven ships sailed from Corunna in that year under the command of Garcia Jofre de Loaysa, but Loaysa died some time after reaching the Pacific and his ships were scattered, accomplishing nothing. Another expedition sailed in 1526 under Sebastian Cabot, who was then in the service of Spain, but it did not even reach the Straits of Magellan, and returned to Spain in disgrace. The royal authorities now bethought themselves of Cortés, the man who had done and was doing so much in New Spain; and as the royal treasury had been considerably depleted by the cost of the fruitless efforts they had made, they directed him to send three of the ships which he was building at his own expense to explore the Pacific-to accomplish what they had shown themselves unable to do. These were among the earliest ships he built on that side of the continent, and much of the material for them had been carried across the plateau of Mexico from the Atlantic side, on men's shoulders. Nevertheless, Cortés loyally obeyed the unwelcome order, postponing

his own plans and enterprises, from which he hoped much, until he could build a new fleet. The ships were made ready and sent out under command of Saavedra Ceron in 1527; but after crossing the ocean safely and arriving at the islands, Ceron died and his ships were dispersed and destroyed. Still another expedition, dispatched by Viceroy Mendoza in 1542, while Cabrillo was absent on his voyage of discovery, was scarcely more successful than the others. It was commanded by Ruy Lopez de Villalobos, who reached the islands safely, explored them more fully than they had ever been explored before and called them the Philippines in honor of Prince Philip, who was, as Philip II, to be one of Spain's most famous and most detested rulers. But Villalobos did not live to return to New Spain. He quarreled with the natives, whose confidence he easily won and in many respects abused, quarreled with his sailors, and was at last obliged to take refuge from their wrath among the Portuguese on the island of Amboyna, where he died. None of his ships ever returned.

These four expeditions having been lost, or sacrificed, no further effort was made to take advantage of what Magellan had done, or what might have been gained by means of it, until 1564, when a fifth expedition was made ready at Navidad, by order of Philip II, who had now ascended the throne of Spain, which his father Charles V had resigned to him in 1556. Miguel Lopez de Legaspi commanded it, and after a voyage of about three months he reached the islands, where by negotiation, force and the other arts, to which the Spanish emissaries of that day were accustomed

to resort, in due time prevailed upon their inhabitants to recognize the Spanish authority, and in some degree its religion.

Then, or shortly thereafter, began that trade between the islands and the coast of Mexico, which was to have an important bearing on the exploration, the occupa-

tion and control of the coast of California.

It was a curious trade, carried on in a curious way, and under most unwise, unprofitable and exasperating regulations. Those engaged in it suffered most cruel tortures from disease, and equally cruel privations. They began to be consumed with the scurvy and vermin soon after leaving shore, and found no relief from them until they reached land again, and this always required from two to six months, and sometimes longer. They were always improperly and often insufficiently fed, and to be on short allowance of water was a frequent experience. They suffered from both extremes of climate; from the summer heat of the Equator during the voyage out, to the cold of latitude 40° in winter—and sometimes even farther north—on the return. Not infrequently they encountered pirates and were obliged to fight for their ship, its cargo and their lives.

As they had no means of making or keeping longitude reckonings, their custom was to do as Columbus did, to sail south from their port of departure—usually Acapulco—to the latitude of the place they wished to reach, and then steer directly west until their voyage was ended. On this voyage they had the trade winds always in their favor, and sometimes they moved steadily forward for days together without changing the setting of a sail. These winds, so favorable for

the outward voyage, were quite as unfavorable for the return; but the means of overcoming this difficulty was not discovered until the early explorers had wasted their energies and some of them their lives in contest with it. But with Legaspi's fleet, there went as pilot, one Andres de Urdaneta, who had been a soldier and a navigator, had visited the Philippines with Loaysa in 1525, and was something of a student of nature. He shrewdly guessed that the winds, which in the tropics so steadily blow from the east toward the west, must somewhere else, probably not very far toward the north or south, blow from the west toward the east; and he recommended that the experiment of sailing toward the north a few degrees before turning eastward be tried, when returning. This was done with the satisfactory result of escaping the trade winds, and of finding, more or less frequently, winds quite favorable for a voyage toward the east. So the earliest of the Philippine merchant ships took this course, and it was followed thereafter for more than two hundred years, by order of the all-wise authorities at Seville. Only when an order came from Spain, through the slow routine of the viceroy's office in Mexico, and that of the governor of the Philippines at Manila, did the pilots venture to leave this route to look for the harbors of refuge always so urgently needed; and so it was that the Hawaiian Islands, which would have afforded what was needed on the outward vovage, were never found, and the great port of San Francisco, in which they would have found what they far more urgently needed on the return, remained undiscovered until found by an expedition that came to it overland.

By the time this Philippine trade began, ships of the pattern of the caravels used by Columbus and Vespucius, and the brigantines built by Balboa and Cortés, were going or had gone out of date, and a new style called galleons, much larger and somewhat better sailers perhaps, were coming into use. Of this style was the San Gerónimo, the first merchant vessel sent to the islands from Acapulco in 1566; and this style of ship was not greatly improved during the two hundred years and more that the trade continued.

So anxious was the Spanish government to control not only this trade, but the ocean and all that was in it, within the limits of the papal grant, and reap all the profits and benefits of every sort for its own, that it retained sole control of it for itself, and directed everything from the headquarters of the Council of the Indies in Seville. This famous body, though now somewhat changed in form, was not much improved in character or efficiency over what it was when Bishop Fonseca had presided over it, and permitted his envy and his ignorance of business to balk the enterprise of such masters of action as Columbus and Cortés. Its responsibilities were now divided, as they had become too numerous to be managed by one body, and the regulation of all matters of trade with the various colonies in America and the islands had been committed to the Casa de Contratación, or board of trade, which sat at Seville, where all ships going to or arriving from the colonies were at first required to report. Later a sort of branch or custom house was established at Cadiz. This board was composed of a president and three assistants of noble birth, three judges, an auditor, a

treasurer, and other officers. Not a man among them, unless it might be the accountants and clerks, was required to know anything about business. The first president was Fonseca himself, and other bishops or priests were always influential in directing its affairs.

Very strict rules for the government of this body were laid down by those in authority over it, and it prescribed others equally as strict for the regulation of all the business it was to control. The colonists were not allowed to manufacture anything nor to grow anything that could be furnished from Spain. They were forbidden to trade with foreigners, or to permit foreign ships to land in their ports—except they were in dire need of food or water-under penalty of death. The government owned more than a thousand ships at this time and would supply all that were needed for purposes of trade; and no master was permitted to put to sea, without first securing a license, specifying the ports at which he was to call, the time he was to remain, and what he might do or not do in each. government paid his sailors and soldiers—of which he always carried a number to defend his ship, which was armed, in case of attack; for in the Sixteenth century piracy, while admittedly disagreeable for those who were attacked, was not regarded as particularly reprehensible in those who practiced it.

Only one ship a year was furnished for the Philippine trade, and the value of the cargo it might carry was limited at first to 800,000 pesos. As the first successful voyage of the San Gerónimo had been made from Acapulco, it settled the course of Spain's trade with the far East for many generations. One ship left

that port in February or March each year, and returned to it in December or January. Its arrival was an event anxiously awaited in all New Spain, for as soon as it was unloaded a fair, lasting for thirty days, began, at which all the goods it brought were displayed for sale; and merchants and individuals came from far and near to purchase. At the end of the thirty days, the unsold goods and the gold and silver received for those which had been sold, were loaded on the backs of animals or men, and carried by such roads or mountain trails as there were at that time, to the opposite coast, where they were shipped to Cadiz or Seville.

Without going further into details, it is sufficient to state that the system was in effect one of government ownership. Individual enterprise was limited, and so far as possible repressed, lest it should interfere with what the government had reserved to itself; and what the government reserved to itself was managed by those who not only had no special interest in the results secured, but no experience in or special fitness for its management. No effort was made to take advantage of an all-water route, such as Portugal enjoyed by way of the Cape of Good Hope, although one lay open by way of Magellan's Strait, by which the galleons might have taken their cargoes direct to Spain, avoiding the labor of transshipment, and the long and difficult land carriage over the mountains of Mexico. This tedious and expensive method of transportation was not only tolerated while the business was in its experimental stage; it was continued through nearly the whole time that it existed.

Directed thus from the secure fastness of the Casa de Contratación's headquarters in Seville or Cadiz, the trade made progress only slowly; but it did progress. There is occasional mention in the old records of two galleons instead of one, in some years, while the value of the cargoes was sometimes two or three millions, instead of only 800,000 pesos as at first. Their officers and sailors also traded to some extent on their own account; for it is said that a successful voyage sometimes brought the captain as much as 150,000 pesos, and Apostolos Valerianos, better known to fame as Juan de Fuca, told Michael Lok in Venice some years later, that he was robbed of goods worth 60,000 ducats when Thomas Cavendish made prize of the Santa Ana, of which he was pilot, in 1587. It is quite possible that the Casa de Contratación winked at this illicit trade, if it did not actually permit it, since by so doing it would be able to employ both officers and sailors at lower wages than would otherwise have to be paid, and its erudite members would regard all money saved in that way as so much gained.

The islands themselves produced but few articles of commerce at first; but traders from China and Japan, the coasts of Siam, Borneo, the Moluccas, and other islands and countries, soon began to bring thither their goods and wares, so that cargoes of silks, brocades, velvets, carpets, ivory, spices of various sorts, gems and gums, cotton cloths, thread, knitted stockings, needlework in endless variety, jewelry of curious workmanship, cutlery, earthenware, hats of plaited straw or thin strips of wood, and other goods not made in Europe, were easily obtained.

The voyage homeward usually began in July, and as there was no unvarying wind to expedite it, sometimes occupied six months, and often a longer time. It was on this homeward voyage that the sailors suffered most. As soon as such small supply of fruits and fresh meats as could be carried were exhausted, salt meats and hard ship's biscuits were their only food until they could reach land again. Their supply of water was also restricted, for the galleons were not provided with tanks nor even with barrels, but carried it in jars which were disposed in every part of the ship, above and below decks wherever a jar could be stowed, and even in the rigging. Of course no supply sufficient for so long a voyage could be carried in this way, and they were therefore forced to depend upon the rain to refill their jars when empty; but this resource rarely failed them, though they were sometimes on very short allowance.

Scurvy naturally and invariably attacked them before the voyage was half completed. Frequently they were attacked with dysentery also, and sometimes with beri-beri. From vermin they were never free, and when the wind or the ocean currents carried them too far north, as frequently happened, they suffered much from cold. These numerous afflictions, together with the necessities of their worm-eaten ships, in time forced even the slow-moving minds of those government managers, who were directing a business that they knew nothing about, and in which they had no personal interest, to bethink them of finding some harbor of refuge on the California coast, to which the galleons might resort, to recruit and refit in time of

urgent need. So it was that the Philippines and their trade came in time to exercise an influence in hastening exploration.

Possibly slow-moving government management might have tolerated these conditions much longer than it did, without making any effort to ameliorate them, if another and more urgent reason had not incited it to action. Human nature in all ages has shown great capacity to endure with equanimity the sufferings of others, which it does not itself see, and members of the Casa de Contratación were not different from other people in this respect. But when the richly-laden galleons were attacked and plundered by freebooters and pirates, they were roused to action; and this not only hastened their movements, but something was added to the world's stock of knowledge of the California coast that Spaniards did not obtain.

The arrogance of Spain in claiming not only "the new lands and islands" lying beyond the line which Pope Alexander had so loosely drawn, but even the oceans themselves, naturally provoked protest and then attack. So far as the Pacific was concerned she claimed that no other power was entitled to send its ships into it, while her colonial regulations forbade any trade with foreigners in the Atlantic. The English and French for a time only protested against this pretension, for Spain was then stronger on the ocean than both, and possibly had more ships afloat than all other powers combined. England had scarcely more than begun to build ships of war, and her merchant ships were comparatively few. France was not so well provided, while the sturdy Netherlanders, born of

the sea as they soon afterwards seemed to be, were only beginning to learn their cunning as sailors. power felt strong enough to make open war for a common right to the ocean, so another means was resorted to. England was first to act. The authority of the pope to dispose of the unexplored part of the world was not recognized in that country, however seriously it might be regarded in others, and Queen Elizabeth, secretly at first, but afterwards more openly, encouraged her subjects to disregard the pretensions of the Spaniards, and seek trade where they could find it. Among English sailors in her time were some who were not very careful to make nice distinctions in regard to the rights of property, when they were not near home; and they needed little encouragement to begin plundering Spanish ships, since they were forbidden to seek trade in Spanish ports. These were glad to make prize of the galleons, freighted with the gold and silver wrung from the colonists as well as the natives of New Spain and Peru, or with the rich goods brought from the Philippines to Acapulco, and thence carried overland by pack animals and Indians to Vera Cruz, even in time of peace, unless convoyed by ships of war; and sometimes when they were so convoyed they fought bloody battles for them. Of course the Spanish government protested, through its ministers, against these depredations, but Elizabeth not only defended, but in a measure justified the conduct of her sailors. Spaniards," she said, "had drawn these inconveniences upon themselves by their severe and unjust dealings in American commerce," for she did not understand why her subjects or those of any other prince

should be debarred from seeking a fair share of trade in any part of the ocean. She did not recognize that "the Bishop of Rome," as she referred to the pope, had any authority to grant special or exclusive privileges to anybody in any part of the ocean, and she would not admit that the Spaniards, on account of his pretended gift, had any title to any country or privilege that they were not in actual possession of.

She not only thus boldly but diplomatically defined her views, but took measures to open the way for direct trade with the Indies for her own ships and seamen. In 1576-8 she sent Sir Martin Frobisher on three separate expeditions to seek for a northern passage through or around the continent of America, and in 1577, aided by a private contribution of money, Francis Drake, one of the youngest and boldest English seamen of his time, to fit out his famous expedition into the Pacific by the southern route.

Before he was twenty, Drake had sailed to the Spanish Main in company with his uncle Sir John Hawkins, where, in some enterprise more or less of the freebooting kind, he had amassed money enough to fit out a ship of his own and make a voyage in it. His enterprise, however, was unfortunate; the Spaniards captured his ship—an ungracious act for which he later took revenge by sacking the town of Nombre de Dios, on the east coast of Panama. While in possession of the place he made an excursion into the interior, where he captured a caravan bringing treasure from Peru, and climbed the mountains until he got a view of the ocean beyond them. There he is reported

to have fallen on his knees and prayed that he might at some time be permitted to sail into that ocean "and make a perfect discovery of the same."

Three years after this incident, John Oxenham, an English sailor, who may have been with Drake at Nombre de Dios, as there is some reason to believe, returned to the isthmus in company with a party of cut-throats like himself, carried the material for a small ship over the mountains as Balboa had done, set it up on the Pacific side, and made a short voyage in it, in which they captured a Spanish ship from Peru, with gold and silver to the value of 300,000 pesos. Their success was short-lived, however, for they were soon afterwards captured and promptly executed.

The little fleet with which Drake sailed for the Pacific was composed at first of five small vessels, but only three of them passed safely through the Strait of Magellan, in September, 1578, ten months after they had sailed from Portsmouth. Shortly after reaching the Pacific these were separated by a storm, and Drake proceeded on his enterprise alone, with one ship of a hundred tons and a crew of about sixty men. He boldly attacked Spanish ships and Spanish towns as he met or came to them; and as no such visitor had ever appeared in that part of the world before, none were prepared for defense and he encountered but little resistance. At Valparaiso he secured his first prize—a ship loaded with wines, but having on board some gold and silver, and "a great gold cross set with emeralds." In or near another port he took two small vessels on which were more than forty bars of silver

"of the bigness and fashion of a brick-batte" and weighing twenty pounds each. Sometimes he went ashore and made short excursions into the country in one of which he took eight hundred pounds of silver from an unprotected caravan, and thirteen bars from a man who was found sleeping by the roadside. In the Gulf of Panama he captured a ship with gold, silver and jewels valued at 300,000 pesos; and off the coast of Mexico he took a number of vessels, some of which had cargoes of silks, velvets and other costly goods, and from one he got a pot of silver coin "of about a bushel in bigness," together with jewels and other valuables. Indeed he made so many captures of ships and towns, from which he took so much gold, silver and jewels, if we are to believe the accounts we have, it is difficult to understand how a ship of a hundred tons could carry them all.

Finally when his ship could carry no more, he turned homeward, and as he knew it would be dangerous to return by the way he came, he determined to make search for the Strait of Anian if he could find it. If it existed, and was not too far north, it would afford a shorter route than that by Magellan's; he might also meet Frobisher, or some other Englishman there, and if not, the discovery of the strait itself would bring a credit to his enterprise of which it seemed likely to stand very much in need.

He accordingly sailed northward along the coast, leaving Guatulco, the last town he plundered, in April and continued on his course until June, when his reckoning showed him to be beyond the forty-second degree north.* Here, strange to say, although the season was midsummer, the sailors found the weather so cold, and suffered so much from the biting winds, that the commander turned south again, and approaching the coast, sought for a harbor, but found none until June 17th, when according to one of the accounts we have of the voyage, "it pleased God to send him into a fair and good bay, within thirty-eight degrees toward the line." Here he remained for thirty-six days, during which his ship was careened and repaired.

For a long time, and in fact until comparatively recent years, there was doubt whether this "fair and good bay," was that lying within Point Reyes, and now known as Drake's Bay; or whether it might not have been Bodega Bay, a few miles farther north, or perhaps the great harbor of San Francisco itself. No log book was kept on this famous voyage, so far as we now know, and no diary like that written by the priests who almost invariably accompanied the Spanish discoverers. All we know about it is derived from two or three books written by Drake's companions after they had returned to England. These contain but little in the way of description of such part of the California coast as the writers saw, and the little that is said about this harbor is almost as applicable to Bodega Bay as to Drake's; no doubt it would apply as well to some point in San Francisco Bay, if search were made of it,

^{*} It was afterwards claimed by several British writers, among them John Davis in his World's Hydrographical Discovery, Sir William Monson in his Naval Tactics, and James Burney in his Chronological History of Discoveries in the South Sea, that he reached the forty-eighth parallel; and in the Oregon boundary negotiations in 1824, Messrs. Huskisson and Canning, on the part of Great Britain, for a time made a similar claim, but finally abandoned it.

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE

Born in Devonshire, England, about 1545; died on his ship off Nombre de Dios, in the West Indies, January 28, 1595. On the 17th of June, 1579, he landed on the coast of California within Point Reyes, took possession of the country in the name of his sovereign, Queen Elizabeth, and named it New Albion.

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though nobody now supposes that he entered it. The impression that he did so, was never more than an impression, for it is inconceivable that anyone who had given the matter serious attention, would be able to believe it possible that those who had been at sea as he had been, had recently suffered so much bad weather, and was so anxiously seeking a safe harbor in which he could repair his ship, could have found this great inland sea without more fully describing it. Moreover the special object of his voyage now was to find a strait leading through the continent toward the east, by which he might elude those whom he had so recently plundered, and whom he supposed to be pursuing him; and return by a short and hitherto unknown route to safety. Under such circumstances it is not possible that he would have failed to explore the bay to its furthest extremity, both toward the south and toward the north and east, and even the two great rivers flowing into it, since at that time, and much later, it was thought that a river might possibly flow from one ocean to the other.* If he had done this, and also repaired his ship, as he was obliged to do, it would have required more than the thirty-six days he spent in the harbor, whichever it was. Moreover he would have been impressed with the fact that he had discovered a finer harbor than he had ever before seen,

^{*} Torquemanda seems to have seen nothing absurd in this idea, for writing of Aguilar's attempt to enter and explore the river which he found in latitude 43°, according to his reckoning, he says: "It was supposed that this river is the one leading to a great city, which was discovered by the Dutch, when they were driven thither by storms, and that it is the Strait of Anian, through which the vessels passed in sailing from the North Sea to the South Sea, and that the city called Quivira is in those parts."

or than existed anywhere else on earth so far as known at that time; and that discovery would have been boasted of by all his panegyrists as the one great thing he had accomplished by this voyage—as it would have been. But notwithstanding the absurdity of this supposition, San Francisco Bay, for a long time after it was discovered, was represented on maps as Sir Francis Drake's Bay,* and by some it was also supopsed that the name San Francisco was given in honor of Sir Francis, although he had few claims to be regarded as a saint.

Though the question was long and ably discussed it now seems to be the general opinion that Drake's Bay, behind Point Reyes is the only bay that Drake saw†. Here his worm-eaten ship first called the Pelican, but during the voyage renamed Golden Hinde—was unloaded, careened and repaired. While the work was going on he was visited by great numbers of Indians, who at first were very suspicious as well as curious, but soon became friendly, bringing the party an abundance of provisions, and finally parting from them with many demonstrations of regret. He also made a short excursion inland, in which he saw vast herds of deer and found the country quite attractive; and before leaving he took formal possession of it in the name of his Queen, and "called it Nova Albion,

^{*} It was so shown in Colton's School Atlas, published in 1835 for the use of pupils in American schools.

[†] Prof. Davidson says in the paper already quoted: "From a recent visit to Drake's Bay we feel assured that he was anchored close under the point." Hittell is of that opinion also, as Bancroft seems to be, though in a note he quotes a large part of an article from the San Francisco Bulletin of October 5, 1878, which he supposes to have been written by John W. Dwinelle, in which the case for Bodega Bay is very strongly put.

both because it had white cliffs toward the sea, and that its name might have some likeness to England, which was formerly so called." He also set up a monument, "signifying the English had been there, and asserting the rights of Queen Elizabeth and her successors to that kingdom, all engraved in a plate of brass, and nailed to a great firm post."

A curious feature of all the reports of this voyage is that they agree in representing the season to have been a very unusual if not an impossible one. Although it was midsummer the hills above Point Reyes had more or less snow on them, and "the trees were without leaves and the ground without grass," even in June and July. There was also "a constant, nipping cold," from which the sailors suffered much. Thick fogs obscured the sun almost continuously, and at one time they did not see it for fourteen days in succession. The author of the World Encompassed says they were turned back in latitude 42° by cold so severe that "the ropes of our ships were frozen, and the rain which fell was a sort of icy substance * * * Our men could not make use of their hands, not to feed themselves; and our meat when it was removed from the fire was in a manner immediately frozen." As they sailed down the coast during the two or three days following, they found the land "to bee but low and reasonable plaine; every hill (whereof we saw many, but none verie high) though it were in June, and the sunne in his nearest approach unto them, being covered with snow." They supposed this low temperature to be caused by the nearness of the American continent to Asia, "from whose high mountains, always covered with snow, the

northwest winds, which usually blow on these coasts bring this almost insufferable sharpness."

People who have resided long on this coast anywhere south of Alaska, will find it difficult to believe that Drake encountered any such weather as described, in June and July; indeed it is not often reported in midwinter. It is conceivable that these sailors, having recently come from the warmer latitudes farther south, should have experienced some discomfort north of Cape Mendocino, but that they found much snow near Point Reyes in July, or "the trees without leaves and the ground without grass" is not believable.

It might be guessed that they purposely misrepresented the country and its climate—as the Hudson's Bay Company people did for many years that of Manitoba, Alberta, British Columbia and even our own Dakotas—for the purpose of keeping other people away from them, were it not that they also say of the country near Drake's Bay, that "there is no part of earth here to be taken up, wherein there is not some special likelihood of gold or silver." There is no sign of either gold or silver in the soil near Drake's Bay. These curious statements make it difficult to guess the purpose they had in view in making them, and possibly they had none except to heighten the effect of their story and increase interest in their adventures.

So far as discovery is concerned, Drake's voyage added only a little to what was already known of the coast. Although his purpose in sailing north from Mexico is declared to have been to find the supposed Strait of Anian, or some other passage through the continent to the Atlantic, he does not appear to have

sighted the coast at all from the middle of April until June was more than half passed. When he turned south on account of the cold wave he claims to have encountered, he appears to have seen little of the shore, and that little is not so described that any point in it can be identified until he reached the bay in which he anchored. That was the Bahía de los Pinos in which, or near which, Cabrillo and Ferrelo had cast anchor in order to take possession thirty-seven years earlier. He saw the Farallones, which they had strangely missed and named them the Isles of St. James; but this can hardly be regarded as an important discovery. He also made a short excursion inland, the first that any white man had made north of Point Conception; but pushed his inquiry in this direction only far enough to show that he had but little interest in exploration.

An attempt was made nearly two hundred and fifty years later, by representatives of Great Britain, to magnify the importance of this voyage, by asserting that by reason of the discoveries made by it, that country had acquired prior rights to the territory of Oregon; but the claim was not allowed nor even very seriously considered. Had Drake landed north of the fortysecond parallel, and made even the slight effort to explore the country inland, that he probably made at Drake's Bay, our title to Oregon might have been seriously affected, and the history of California very considerably changed. It could not be shown then that he had seen any part of the coast in that part of his voyage, much less set foot on it, while the representations made by him, or for him, in regard to the weather and some other matters, about which more

was then known than during his own time, were taken to discredit his story so far as to make it undesirable to make any serious claim on account of it.

Having refitted and resupplied his ship, Drake made no further effort to find a passage through the continent to the Atlantic, but taking his course toward the west, returned to England by way of the Cape of Good Hope, his being the second ship and he being the first commander to make the complete circuit of the globe; and upon this achievement more than any other rest the claims of this voyage to be remembered.

The success of his enterprise in the freebooting way encouraged other bold English navigators to imitate his example, and in the course of the next two hundred years they made many prizes of Philippine ships. The first among these was Thomas Cavendish, who with three small ships sailed for the Pacific in the fall of 1586 and passed the Strait of Magellan in February, 1587. He proceeded up the coast at his leisure, taking and burning a number of ships and plundering several His principal prize was the Philippine galleon for that year, the Santa Ana of 1,700 tons, which he encountered near Cape San Lucas and captured after a hard fight. She had on board one hundred and twenty-two thousand pesos in gold, besides an unusually rich cargo, and more than a hundred passengers, several of whom were women. After the battle he took his prize to a small bay near Cape San Lucas, where after transferring the gold and some other parts of her cargo to his own vessel, he set her on fire and abandoned both the ship, her crew and passengers to their fate. The crew managed after his departure to subdue the PANAMA CARTA MARINA

About 1548; showing North America as an extension of Asia.

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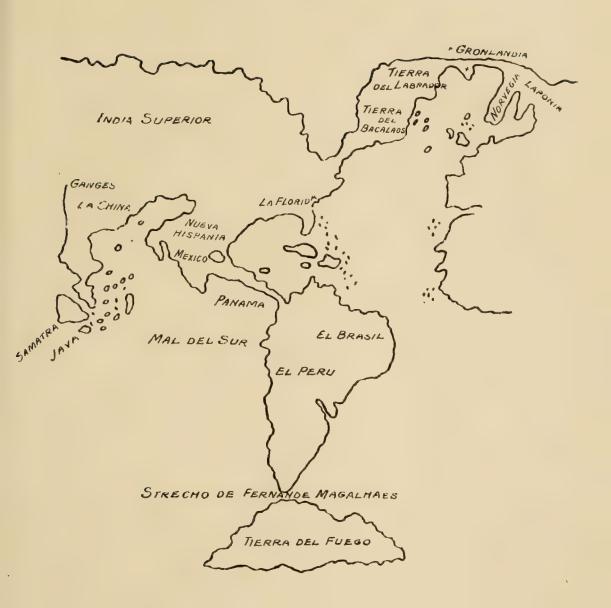
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fire and to take what was left of ship and cargo to Acapulco. Cavendish returned to England by the westward route as Drake had done, and on his arrival boasted that he had burned and sunk nineteen ships, great and small, while "all the villages and towns I landed at, I burned and spoiled."

He had more warrant for these outrages than Drake had, for Spain and England were now practically at war. For a long time Elizabeth had been more or less openly aiding the Netherlanders in their heroic resistance to Spanish oppression; and during the preceding year had sent the Earl of Leicester with a small army to their assistance, while Drake, now in command of an armed fleet, had taken St. Domingo and Cartagina, and burned two Spanish towns on the Florida coast. It was known in England that Philip was preparing his Invincible Armada, in the confident expectation that with it he would be able to make the English Queen and her heretic subjects his own vassals; and while Cavendish was burning and sacking the small villages along the South American coast, Drake had "singed the King's beard," as he said, by entering the harbors of Cadiz and Lisbon with his fleet, where he burned and sunk more than two hundred ships, and destroyed war material and provisions that had been collected for the expedition, of almost as great value as the ships themselves.

It was perhaps because Philip and his advisers were so fully occupied with the preparation of the Armada, and with contemplating the wonderful conquest it was to make; and later so terribly weakened and depressed by its hopeless destruction, that neither he nor they made any effort to protect their commerce in the Pacific during these years, or those that remained of his reign. That commerce had slowly but steadily increased in value from the time of its establishment, and the returns it brought into the Spanish treasury were more and more needed year by year, to make good its increasing deficits. Yet its defense seems to have been left wholly to the Viceroy of New Spain and the governor of the Philippines.

It was probably made plain to these officers, by the masters of the galleons, and those who were interested in their cargoes, that harbors of refuge, if they could be found on the California coast, might be of value when the richly-freighted vessels were pursued by enemies, or in case they should be in need of repairs. They were always in more or less distress as they approached Cape Mendocino, and if a harbor existed in that neighborhood it was most desirable to find it; other harbors farther south along the coast might also prove valuable at any time.

But most of all, it was needful to find the Strait of Anian—if it existed—and close it so that freebooters could not make use of it, or they would soon drive the galleons from the ocean. Reports that it had been found appeared from time to time, and some of them were particularly alarming. In 1568 "One Salvatierra, a gentleman of Vittoria in Spain" had represented that Friar Urdaneta had actually sailed through the strait more than eight years before that time; and in 1574 Juan Ladrillero, an old pilot living in Mexico, put forth a claim that he had himself sailed through the

strait from one ocean to the other; and still other claims of similar import were made from time to time by persons of less importance.

A much more alarming story than any of these, appears to have been put in circulation by Lorenzo Ferrer de Maldonado, a Portuguese writer on subjects pertaining to geography and navigation, who claimed that he had sailed through the strait in 1588. He claimed to have found it opening into the Atlantic in latitude 60° north—which was its latitude as given by Cortereal, the first to mention it—where it was thirty leagues wide. He then described its whole course with its several windings, and the character of the shore on either side, until it finally reached the Pacific in latitude 75°. It was easily navigable, he said, throughout its whole length, and he had met a Dutch ship near its western entrance.

Five years after Drake left the coast, and three before Cavendish arrived—or in 1584—the governor of the Philippines, by direction of his superiors in Spain and Mexico, instructed Francisco Gali, who commanded the galleon of that year, to try and find a new and more favorable route across the Pacific. In carrying out this instruction Gali appears to have intended to follow the coast of Asia until he found it uniting with that of the new continent. Possibly he also intended, or hoped to find some hospitable-looking openings in it, where the storm-tossed and teredo-eaten ships might take refuge in time of need, and where their crews might get fresh supplies; but he found nothing that his predecessors had not already observed, except the Japan current—"a very hollow water," as he calls

it—by which he was carried farther north than the old route lay. As he neared the California coast he found floating in the current, among roots, reeds and other drift, some leaves like those of the fig trees of Japan, which are there used for food. Some of these he had boiled with meat, and found them very good eating. From the number of seals he saw on the upper part of the coast, he argued that there must be many "rivers, bays and havens" there, but he saw none of them.

In Gali's report is the earliest mention so far found of Cape Mendocino; though he does not claim to have discovered or named it, but mentions it as a point already known. Who first saw and named this prominent headland, the most westerly point of our coast, cannot now be determined, though it seems most likely that Urdaneta discovered it, on that famous voyage of his already mentioned.

Eleven years after Gali's voyage, another feeble effort was made to find a harbor below Cape Mendocino. In 1595, Sebastian Rodriguez de Cermeño, pilot of the San Agustín, was charged on leaving Manila, to inspect the California coast when he should reach it, with more care than his predecessors had done; and in carrying out this instruction found his way into the harbor which Cabrillo and Drake had visited, behind Point Reyes, where his ship was wrecked on the morning of Friday, December 8th, 1595, and the crew made the best of their way to La Navidad in an open boat. In reporting the wreck of his vessel Cermeño said it had occurred in the bay and port of San Francisco.*

^{*} This is the first mention of the name as applied to a harbor on the coast. It will be observed that it was applied at the time to Drake's Bay, and not the present harbor of San Francisco.

In 1587 Gali was to have been sent on another voyage of discovery, to find if possible two islands that had been reported to lie nine days east of Japan, between the 35th and 36th parallels, and which it was hoped might furnish the much-desired harbor of rest and refreshment for the galleons, but Gali being otherwise employed at the time, one Pedro de Unamunu was sent in his stead. He failed to find any island in the locality named, and continued on toward the east and north until September 3d, when he supposed himself to be in latitude 39°. There, on account of a cold wind and a broken mast, he turned toward the south, where he appears to have drifted about for some time, once going as far south as 32° 30', and then returning to 35° 30', where he came upon two small islands, and then sighted a point of land distinguished by three tall pine trees, behind which lay a broad bay, which he entered. His description of this bay is very imperfect, but so far as it goes, it is as applicable to the Bay of Monterey as that of Viscaino, written fifteen years later, except that he makes its latitude "a little more than 35½°," whereas it is 36° 31'. But an error of a degree in the calculation of that time is not remarkable. He mentions "the trees suitable for ships masts," of which Viscaino speaks, the abundant water and wood on shore, and the equally abundant supply of fish of various kinds that might easily be taken from the bay. All these were things the distressed galleons would seek, if they ever had occasion to enter the harbor, and for that reason they were noted more particularly

than other characteristics, mention of which is wanting. As Unamunu entered this harbor on St. Luke's day he called it the Bay of San Lucas.*

These three feeble and almost fruitless efforts at exploration, were all that were undertaken during the reign of Philip II, the most powerful monarch in his time in all the world, for the protection of his trade with the Indies-unless we admit the voyage which Apostolos Valerianos, better known as Juan de Fuca, claimed to have made in 1592, and in which he discovered the strait which is now known by the latter name. No diary, ship's log, or other record of this voyage, such as is usually kept on shipboard, and such as all the other discoverers kept, has ever been found; and all we know about it is from the story told by De Fuca himself to Michael Lok, an English merchant who was trading in Venice in 1598. In this story he claimed to have been a pilot on the galleon Santa Ana when Cavendish captured and burned it in 1587, at which time he said he lost goods of his own worth 60,000 ducats; that subsequently the Viceroy of New Spain employed him to go as pilot with an exploring expedition sent out to search for the Strait of Anian, but on account of the incompetence of the captain this expedition accomplished nothing; that later a new expedition was prepared for the same purpose, consisting of a small ship and a pinnace, the command of which was given to him; that he sailed northward along the coast until he came to a "broad inlet of sea between 47° and 48° of latitude, he entered thereinto, sailing therein more

^{*} For a translation of Unamunu's description of this bay see Richman's California under Spain and Mexico, Ch. II, pp. 25-6.

than twenty days"; that having sailed through this strait, from the South to the North sea, as he supposed, he returned to New Spain, where he hoped to be rewarded for what he had done; but he received nothing, and after waiting a long time he was referred to the King of Spain, who, like the viceroy, gave him nothing but promises. On account of this treatment, he wished, although he was at the time more than sixty years old, to be sent out by the Queen of England, to rediscover the strait for her benefit, and he wished Lok to procure for him that employment.

The story of this old sailor—who was a Greek by birth, but who claimed to have been forty years in the service of Spain—was for a long time distrusted, because it rested upon no better evidence than Lok's report; because the strait was afterwards found to be one degree farther north than he had placed it, and because he had said there was at the northern side of the entrance to it "a great headland or island, with an exceeding high pinnacle or spired rock, like a pillar thereon," and no such pinnacle or spired rock had been found there.

It is true, however, that when Vancouver explored the strait just three hundred years later, he found it agreeing in so many respects with the old Greek's description, that he called it Juan de Fuca's Strait in his honor. The spired rock at its entrance he did not find, but Wilkes found one—though on the opposite side—in 1841, which he thought answered the description given; and still later Admiral Phelps pointed out that according to the description, the peculiar rock

should be looked for at the northern entrance instead of the southern, and that there, on the northern side, just such a rock existed.

There is more reason therefore to believe than to doubt the old Greek's story, notwithstanding the absence of an official report, and other cotemporary evidence. As he was not paid for what he had done, and nobody had any intention of paying him, consistency required that he should be considered to have done nothing of any value, and therefore no record would be necessary. The viceroy at that time was Luis de Velasco, whose father had been viceroy some years before. He came into power in 1589, finding the people, among whom he had lived as a child, heavily burdened with the exactions of his immediate predecessors, and exasperated by sumptuary laws and regulations of the most amazing kind, which Philip and his Council of the Indies had imposed on them. He sought to improve their condition and their temper by beautifying the capital, and by other undertakings of a public kind; furnishing employment for such as cared for it, and so giving them something to think about besides their own sorrows. But the destruction of the Armada in the preceding year, and want of success in the long war in the low countries called for new exactions and new taxes, so that it is not surprising if the young and inexperienced viceroy found himself unable to pay as he had promised. If De Fuca applied to Philip for his money, as he says he was advised to do, he found that venerable despot no more willing, and but little more able to pay him than the viceroy was; so that the old sailor's story, from every point of view, seems at least probable.

PORT OF SAN DIEGO IN 1840
Reproduced from De Mofras' Atlas for
"The Beginnings of San Francisco."
Note the Punta de los Muertos where the dead of
the First Expedition were buried; also the
hide houses mentioned by Dana.

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The long reign of Philip II was now drawing to a close. His son, educated under his own baleful influence, was coming to the throne to prove himself even less competent to govern than his father had been. But while power was new to him, and its exercise agreeable, he gave orders to his viceroy in New Spain to have a new expedition fitted out to explore the California coast for harbors in which the galleons might find refuge, and also to seek out if possible the Strait of Anian. As this expedition was to be fitted out at the king's own cost, and not that of the viceroy, it may be presumed that it was made ready as expeditiously as circumstances would permit, and also that it was well provided with everything likely to be required that at that time existed.

Three ships and a launch were provided for it, and they were furnished with a larger number, both of sailors and soldiers, than any former expedition. The command was given to Sebastian Viscaino, a Spaniard, who had commanded an earlier enterprise sent to examine the coast of the peninsula, and to hunt for pearl fisheries—which had accomplished nothing. Ensign Martin de Aguilar was second in command, and Francisco de Bolaños, who had been a pilot on Cermeño's ship, the San Agustín, which was wrecked in the bay under Point Reyes in 1595, was chief navigator. Three Carmelite friars, one of whom was Fray Antonio de la Ascensión, were taken along as chaplains, and also to make a map of the coast and keep a record of discoveries as they were made.

The expedition was ready to sail from Acapulco on May 5, 1602, but instead of going directly north as

far as Cabrillo had explored the coast with sufficient care to show that no Strait of Anian existed there, and no harbor except that of San Diego that could be of much benefit to the Manila galleons; or better still going as far north at once as he thought advisable, beginning his examination of the coast there, and working southward, thus doing his work in the north during the summer while his crews were in good health and his ships in good condition, and gradually drawing nearer home as the season advanced and his supplies diminished, Viscaino sailed leisurely northward, touching at La Navidad on May 22d and arriving at the southern boundary of the present state, on November 10th. Meantime he had examined all or nearly all the points noted by Ulloa and Cabrillo, and discovered a few small bays and inlets and a few unimportant islands.

He remained in the harbor of San Diego ten days, during which he examined and mapped it with some care, and changed its name from San Miguel to that it now bears, which was the name of his principal ship. Leaving there on the 20th he went to the island which Cabrillo had called San Salvador, and changed its name to Santa Catalina; then he moved on through the Santa Barbara archipelago, noting for the first time apparently that the islands ranged parallel with the coast, and naming them and the channel. He made no record of having visited either San Pedro or Santa Monica bays, though both are fairly well represented on his map.

The weather continued to favor the expedition until it was about ready to round Point Conception and start northward, when it encountered a strong northwest wind, which drove the ships back among the islands where they remained all night and during the two following days in considerable danger, as the wind was strong and the sea very rough. When this gale had blown itself out they moved up the coast, observing the mountains which Cabrillo had called Las Sierras de San Martin, and changing the name to La Sierra de Santa Lucia. Four leagues beyond these mountains they found a bay and river which they named Carmelo, in honor of the Carmelite friars, and beyond it a pine-covered point behind which lay the Bay of Monterey.

This bay was the principal discovery of the expedition. The squadron entered it on December 16th. The commander and his principal officers viewed it with enthusiasm, and although it lies broad open to the sea, from the pine-covered point, which they named La Punta de Pinos, to Point Santa Cruz, they appear to have thought it offered all the advantages of shelter that the Manila ships would be likely to require in that neighborhood. "It is a very good harbor," they say, "and offers good protection and is sheltered from all winds. It has extensive forests, and an infinite number of very great pines, straight and smooth, fit for masts and yards; likewise evergreen oaks of a prodigious size, proper for building ships." They called it El Puerto de Monte-Rey, in honor of the Viceroy Don Gaspar de Zuñiga y Azevedo, whose title was Count of Monte-Rev.

Here they went ashore and pitched a tent near a spring of good water, by the side of a ravine, still

casily identified; the priests celebrated mass in the tent, and such measures as were possible were taken for the relief of the sick, who were now very numerous. Sixteen of the soldiers and sailors had already died of the scurvy. It was late in December, and at sea the nights were so cold that even those who were strongest suffered considerably, while the sick, who were much the larger number, could not be properly cared for. It was accordingly determined to send one of the ships, with those who were most severely afflicted, back to New Spain. The Santo Tomás with thirty-four persons on board, was accordingly dispatched southward on December 29th; twenty-five of the thirty-four died before reaching Mexico.

On January 3d, the other two ships, after taking in wood and water, resumed their voyage; but they encountered a formidable wind which continued for three days, during which apparently they saw no land, as no record was made of any observations taken. During this gale the ships became separated and did not meet again until the end of the voyage. The smaller ship, commanded by Aguilar, was kept before the wind and headed steadily toward the northwest, while the larger, supposing probably that she would seek shelter, and because the commander wished to inspect "the Bay of San Francisco" in which the galleon San Agustín had been wrecked, in 1595, hurried toward shore and came to anchor "behind a point of land which makes this harbor," and which he called La Punta de Los Reves.* This the pilot Bolaños recog-

^{*} In honor of the three kings of Cologne.

nized as the bay they were looking for, but they found in it no part of the wrecked ship or her cargo. Because the weather was stormy and the sea rough no one went on shore, and on the day following, as nothing had been seen of the smaller ship, the voyage was resumed. The ship made headway but slowly against the northwest wind, and on January 12th, those on board saw "some very high mountains of a reddish color, and fourteen leagues further to the northwest a chopped-off cape came upon the sea, and near to it some snowy mountains; and the pilots judged that this should be Cape Mendocino."

Professor Davidson feels confident that when this record was made Viscaino's ship was off the coast opposite the mountains lying east of Point Delgada, for Cape Mendocino would appear about as here described, from that point. Here the ships were overtaken by another violent storm from the southeast, accompanied by rain and sleet, and the sailors, nearly all of whom were now sick, suffered greatly. This was the northern limit to which their instructions required them to go, but they drifted on with the storm for a week, when the weather cleared up so far as to enable them to make an observation, by which they found themselves in latitude 42° north, near a cape "of white land joined to some high snow-covered mountains; and it is called El Cabo Blanco de San Sebastian." The smaller ship was later found to have taken refuge from the storm near "a large rocky islet," which was probably Redding Rock in latitude 41° 22', or nearly a degree north of Cape Mendocino. It was subsequently driven north by the gale, to a cape which Aguilar also named Blanco, and near it "a rapid and abundant river" entered the ocean, which was probably Rogue River in Oregon. The reckoning made here

Was 43°.

Here the ships turned south—each independent of the other, for they had not met since leaving Monterey—and returned to Acapulco. Professor Davidson thinks that Viscaino's furthest north was the white cliffs of the Gold Bluffs, in 41° 25′, or the white sand dunes just north of Mack's Arch, in 42° 14′; and that Aguilar also saw these dunes, and the mouth of Rogue River, which is in 42° 25′.

Viscaino cannot be regarded as an enterprising explorer. Except for the discovery of the Bay of Monterey, his expedition accomplished but little of value. Every other point of consequence along the coast that he saw or visited had been seen or visited before; and aside from the few details gained by a closer and more painstaking survey of harbors that had already been discovered, he added but little to what was known before he sailed.

Like Cabrillo he sailed directly across the great outer bay of San Francisco, but without observing the entrance to the great inland harbor which we now know as the Golden Gate. It is true that the weather was stormy, as it had been when Cabrillo was there; that his crew were disabled by scurvy, and that he was at the time anxious about the fate of the smaller vessel, of which he had lost sight during the storm. But the object of his voyage was to find a safe harbor of refuge for the Manila galleons and to search for a supposed strait leading to the Atlantic;

and here was a broad opening in the coast, easy to be seen by watchers who are even moderately attentive, a long distance from the coast and for miles on either side of it, that might seem to be either. And yet he missed it, and it was searched for no more for nearly a hundred and seventy years.

The cosmographer of the voyage made a map of the coast, which was the first made by anyone who had seen it, or had any really definite information about it. Like all maps of that time, when there were no means of determining the longitude of places, the general western trend of the coast is far from accurate. Most of its more prominent features such as capes, bays, headlands and islands, are represented, and their relative positions are shown with approximate correctness, so far as latitude is concerned. Some are shown which are not mentioned in the narrative, although names were given them. Notations here and there indicate that the shore is high with mountains back of it, or that it is low with valleys in its neighborhood; and the presence of one or two Indian villages is indicated. The Harbor of Monterey is quite elaborately and accurately drawn, indicating, as the description given in the narrative does, that Viscaino was anxious to make the most of this discovery. San Diego Bay, which was explored and surveyed at leisure, is also fairly represented, but Drake's Bay, which he calls Puerto de los Reyes, is not shown so correctly; and the Frailes as he calls them—the Farallones—appear to lie off an almost straight line of coast, unbroken except by this bay. The southernmost and largest of the group is named isleo hendido, and is represented as

lying at some distance from the others and quite near the coast, indicating, as Prof. Davidson thinks, that Viscaino did not pass between the islands and the shore, probably because of stormy weather.

A discovery, not of a geographical kind, was made accidentally by one of the soldiers of the expedition as it was nearing home, that would have been of immense value to the suffering mariners during the two succeeding centuries if more careful attention had been paid to it; and when we recall how constantly they suffered from the inseparable companion of all their voyages—the scurvy—the more incredible it seems that little or no benefit was derived from it.

The discovery was made in this way: Some soldiers were sent on shore to bury one of their dead companions, and one of them seeing some wild fruit of a yellowish color growing nearby, plucked some of it and tried to eat it. Surrounded by the green foliage of the tree, it doubtless looked most tempting to one who had been so long at sea, and had lived on ship's rations of salt beef and dry bread until his flesh was swollen and his joints stiff from the disease which was daily reducing the number of his companions. Any fruit, ripe or unripe, or any green thing fresh from nature would be tempting to such as he; so without knowing whether it were wholesome or noxious—a lifegiving medicine or deadly poison—he tasted it. At first the acid juice was not very agreeable to his inflamed gums, but like the waters of Marah that were bitter at first and afterwards turned to sweetness, the acrid taste of this fruit, whatever it was, soon gave way to a grateful sense of refreshment. His companions

tried it with similar results, and all soon began to realize some feeling of relief from the pains which had so long tortured them. Their swollen muscles relaxed, the fever in their blood was cooled; they were not only refreshed but in a measure healed. They had discovered not only a remedy, but a preventive of scurvy, had they known how to make use of it. But to do that required the exercise of invention and individual intelligence, a thing that at that time was not encouraged anywhere in the dominions of Spain.



CHAPTER IV. A LONG WAIT



INGS of Spain and Viceroys of Mexico came and went for generations, but California remained as it had been. Discovery had brought it to the knowledge of the civilized world, but the civilized world had no opportunity to make use of it. It was one of the vast possessions of Spain whose despotic ruler, according to the light that was in him, governed all for his own pleasure and profit. More confidently perhaps than any other autocrat that ever lived, he believed that peoples and countries were created for their kings, and not kings for their countries and peoples. The royal will therefore, which was too often nothing more than the royal caprice, determined everything; economic requirements were not only not considered, but were not even supposed to exist.

So governed, Spain had already begun to decline. The vast possessions which Charles V had bequeathed to his son Philip II—the most extensive that any monarch had ever ruled up to that time—had been vastly increased when Philip seized the throne of Portugal, temporarily made vacant by the death of Henrique, "the Cardinal King," in 1580, and with it all that Portugal possessed, or claimed to possess in the East, uniting under one crown the world that Alexander VI, "in the fullness of his Apostolic power," had divided in 1493. The New World that Columbus had discovered by sailing toward the west, and the older world to which Da Gama had opened the way by sailing toward the east, together with most of Italy, the Netherlands and the whole of the great southwestern peninsula of Europe, were united under the

rule of one arbitrary despot, who believed them and all that was in them, to be his own individual property by direct gift from on high. This world-encompassing empire, though seemingly rich and prosperous, was really bankrupt, decaying, and struck with death. Like one of those giant cedars, sometimes seen in our northern forests, though outwardly thriving and luxuriant, it was rotten at the core. The natural wealth of a world lay useless and unused, and millions of willing hands that might have developed and made it useful, were idle and their owners starving, because one headstrong old man, who had the power to prevent, would not permit things to be done as nature had designed.

Philip believed firmly that nothing was so necessary for the regulation and advancement of his kingdom and his people as a generous exercise of the royal will. toiled long hours in the gloom of his cabinet, where few had access to him, reading and annotating voluminous reports, inspiring or dictating decrees and edicts, ordering and directing in matters of all kinds as they occurred to him, or were brought to his attention, many of which he did not understand, and about some of which he knew nothing. He delighted in petty things, and thought it his privilege, if not his duty, to prescribe rules by which his subjects, at home or in the colonies, should regulate their daily lives-what they might wear, where they should buy and how much they might pay for it; whom they might marry and at what age; when and how they might change their places of abode. He also regulated their employments and their amusements. Matters of graver importance—the regulation of commerce and manufactures, the planting of colonies in his vast and newly discovered possessions, and their extension—though left largely to the management of the Council of the Indies and the Casa de Contratación, did not escape his indefatigable industry and personal supervision; and in this as in other things, he relied confidently upon his own royal caprice, rather than upon any study of economic requirements, as his infallible guide. Above all else he thought it important to regulate the thoughts and religious beliefs of his subjects, his great maxim being that it were better not to rule at all than to rule over heretics. This duty was largely committed to the Inquisition, whose activities he encouraged, and whose authority he did his best to establish in every part of his vast dominions.

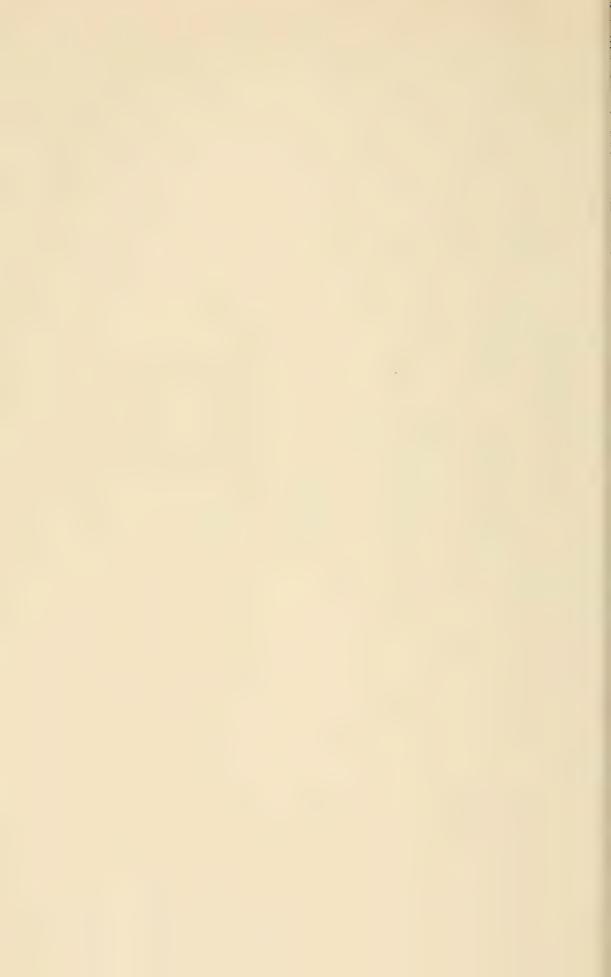
The effect of this baleful system was to discourage all individual initiative, and to repress individual enterprise. The king or his chosen deputies did the thinking for everybody, so far as any thinking was done; and no undertaking could be begun or carried on that did not derive its impulse, more or less directly, from the royal will. Progress therefore depended on one mind or set of minds instead of many, and things advanced but slowly when they advanced at all.

What the reversal of that policy means to mankind the history of the Nineteenth century makes clear, and that of the Twentieth is every day making clearer. That it was a bad policy and ought to be reversed would have appeared to a mind less bigoted and self-centered than that of Philip; for during his long reign of fortythree years nothing prospered with him. The gold wrung from the natives of Mexico and Peru, and poured for many years into Spain, blighted its industries instead of stimulating them. The vast world commerce for which the enterprise of Columbus and Da Gama had opened the way, grew but slowly where it did not languish and decline under unwise regulations and foolish restrictions. Land, held for the most part by the king and a few nobles, or by the dead hand of the church, withheld its natural supply of food products from starving multitudes who were denied legitimate use of it. The rich few were oppressors, the poor many were beggars or banditti. These poor, and possibly even the banditti, would have made excellent colonists-and Philip had broader areas of fertile land on which colonists might rapidly have grown rich and prosperous,* than were ever possessed by any other monarch; and had he known how to make use of them or even been willing to let them be used without his royal interference, his vast realm would have been far more prosperous than it was.

Historians, generally, have condemned Philip for all that he was and for most that he did, and their criticisms are approved by discriminating readers; yet it must be remembered, that the time in which he lived was not the present, nor was he in most things far behind other despots of his day, who fondly and firmly believed that they were divinely appointed to rule their fellow men. It took these, and others who gradually came to take a more enlightened view in

^{*} Adam Smith says: The colony of a civilized nation which takes possession either of a waste country, or of one so thinly inhabited that the natives easily give place to new settlers, advances more rapidly to wealth and greatness than any other human society.—Essay on Colonies, Part II.

regard to the source of their authority, many generations to discover the unsoundness and hollowness of their pretensions; to unlearn the precepts and traditions that came to them by inheritance, and to discover that their own interests as well as that of their realms, lay in the direction of greater liberty, both of thought and action, for their peoples. Even under our own enlightened government, the best method of making use of the public domain was but slowly learned—indeed, it is not yet wholly learned. We have only to turn back the pages of history to a period but slightly antedating the adoption of the Constitution, to find Congress sending the militia into eastern counties of Ohio to drive back the settlers who were advancing our frontiers more rapidly than the laws of the time permitted, and to burn their cabins, if they resisted. Kentucky and Tennessee were settled earlier than the territories of Ohio on the north, or Alabama and Mississippi on the south of them, partly because the land laws of Virginia and North Carolina of which they were once parts, which continued to prevail in them, were more liberal than those of the general government. So slow, indeed, were our own lawmakers in discovering how to make use of the public lands most profitably, that it was not until 1841 that anything as liberal as a general preëmption law was enacted, and the homestead law did not find a place in our statute books, until more than twenty years later. Meantime the enterprise of individuals was outrunning the slow plodding of the law-makers. Land seekers, unable to get what they wanted in the broad, unoccupied prairies of Illinois, Iowa, and other



So advantageous was this system of individual management, by those who were engaged in the various wealth-producing enterprises, over Philip's governmental regulation of everything, that within a decade after his death, these Dutch mariners had invaded the Orient itself, and begun to seize upon his most profitable dependencies there, as their own. The Dutch East India Company—the first trust, as we now understand trusts—since its declared purpose was to prevent Oriental goods from being sold too cheaply in Europe*—was organized in 1602, with a capital of \$6,500,000 and nearly every Dutch Company, or individual engaged in the India trade, joined it.

But if Spain's dependencies suffered from the malignant industry and self-confidence of Philip II, they had no occasion to complain of his successors on that score. They suffered quite as much, however, from their negligence. Philip III educated as he was, under the baleful watchfulness of his father, was permitted to know but little of what a sovereign should know, before he came to the throne. He proved, quite naturally, to be an indolent monarch, who made haste to commit the responsibilities of government to the care of a favorite, who had been his tutor during his unhappy minority, and whom he created Duke of Lerma on coming to power. This duke, according to Mr. Motley, ruled with but a single object, which was to rob the royal exchequer as frequently as possible, and of as much as possible at each opportunity.

^{*} The United Netherlands, by John Lothrop Motley-Harper & Brothers, 1900, Vol. IV, p. 132.

His successors, and the princes they served, were much like Philip III and himself. Occasionally a really great man came into power, but only for a short time. Ferdinand II son of Philip III was like his father; and his son Carlos II the last of the Austrian line in Spain, known as "Carlos the Bewitched," was almost an imbecile. He died in 1700, leaving Spain and all that remained to it of its vast dependencies in the New and Old World, to a descendant of that heretic king of Navarre who became Henry IV the first Bourbon king of France. Of all things this would have been regarded by Philip II, could he have foreseen it, as the greatest calamity that could possibly befall Spain or his house.

The Bourbons early acquired the distinction of learning nothing and forgetting nothing, and possibly the Spanish branch of the family did more than any other to deserve it. The first two kings of this line were as indolent and as incompetent as their Austrian predecessors. Under their rule the fortunes of Spain steadily declined, and the dismemberment of its world-wide possessions, begun under their predecessors, continued. The English East India Company, chartered by Elizabeth in the year 1600, began to be active in the East, quite as early as the Dutch, and gradually extended its enterprises there until 1757, when Clive made its authority supreme in the great southern peninsula of Asia, eliminating the last vestige of other European authority. The Dutch took and held the Spice Islands, once Spain's most valued possessions in the East; and at last, all that remained to her of the immense dominion she had once enjoyed on that side

of the earth, were the islands which Magellan had discovered and which Legaspi had named for Philip II, when he was not yet king; and even these had once been taken from but later restored to her.

The revenues of the kingdom, once so liberally furnished from Mexico and Peru, early fell into disorder and rapidly diminished. The difficulty began even in the time of Philip II, who was often hard pressed to find money to pay his soldiers. Sometimes, indeed, these were so far neglected that they were obliged to join the throngs of beggars about the doors of monasteries, churches, and other religious institutions, where the almoners of church dignitaries daily dispensed a pittance of food to starving multitudes. Things grew steadily worse under Philip III who soon after his accession to the throne was forced to grant an armistice, and later independence to the rebellious Netherlanders, because of the difficulty of providing \$300,000 a month to support his army there.

Relieved from the drain of supporting an army to resist that of Spain, as well as the loss and waste caused by the invaders, the stout Netherlanders found themselves free to engage in new and more agreeable enterprises, and they made use of their freedom with spirit and intelligence, nowhere so effectively and profitably as on the sea. Their merchant ships, after the manner of the time, were armed and manned for war, if occasion called for it, and it frequently did. Those of the East India Company often sought battle with the ships of Spain, when they encountered them, and usually if not invariably, the result of the contest was in their favor. The natives of Spain's most valued island

possessions were encouraged to revolt, and if the expulsion of the Spaniards did not follow, as it usually did, more advantageous conditions were gained for the Dutchmen. So accustomed to victory in these engagements did these Netherlanders become, that Jacob Van Heemskerk sailed boldly into the bay of Gibraltar, in 1607, and attacked and sunk a Spanish fleet of more than twice as many ships, many of which were much larger, far better armed, and more numerously manned than his own. During the next hundred years English and Dutch squadrons attacked the Spanish settlements along the American coast as well as in the East, despoiled her treasure ships in both oceans, and deprived her of some of her richest provinces, both in the East and West, although the countries were nominally not at war. Portugal revolted in 1640, and at the end of a tedious war, regained her independence, recovering at the same time such of her former possessions in the East as had not been seized by the enterprising Dutch and English; and finally by the peace of Utrecht, in 1713, at the close of the war which established the Bourbon in place of the Hapsburg dynasty, Spain gave up most of her possessions in Italy and permitted Minorca and Gibraltar to pass permanently into the possession of England.

There is no need to detail more at length the evidence of Spain's decline from the proud position of first among world powers, to that of the third or fourth class. The only object of even this brief recital is to direct the reader's attention to the reasons for the long period of neglect which intervened between the discovery of California and its settlement. First

among these was the old feudal idea of government, which Philip II more than any other prince asserted and emphasized, that nothing could be done anywhere or by anybody, except by royal direction or permission. His successors for five generations followed the same theory, though leaving the trouble of expressing the royal will to favorites and other incompetents, who usually expressed it with a view largely to their own profit. The Inquisition was relied upon to promote and preserve harmony of opinion in all things, by preventing any possible discord in matters of religion. The result was that nobody dared to think or act except by permission of state or church. Individual initiative was impossible. There was no advancement in the sciences or the arts, either liberal or useful. No man invented anything, or improved upon the methods of his ancestors in doing the few things he found to do. Manufacturing, which had been more prosperous in Spain and the Spanish possessions than in any other part of Europe, gradually declined, after the flow of gold from America began, and was practically extinguished when the last of the Moriscoes were expelled from Spain by Philip IV. Agriculture, which could produce no profit except to the state, the church, and the ninety-three noble families who owned the soil, declined until it yielded only a bare subsistence for a once fairly prosperous people. In the cities the decline was most notable. Toledo was reduced to one-third, Segovia, Burgos, and La Mancha to one-tenth of the population they once held, while Seville, once the chief port of trade with the Indies, and most opulent of all the cities of Spain by reason of its manufactures, is estimated to have been reduced to one-twentieth of its former importance. In the great ports where shipbuilding had formerly been active, the art was now fallen into decay; the arsenals were empty, the ships trading to the East or West rarely seen, while those belonging to the royal navy were few and scarcely seaworthy.

To stay this universal decline, and if possible restore some measure of prosperity to an almost hopeless people, the government could and did propose nothing better than to debase the currency, arbitrarily reduce the rate of interest on the public debt, and multiply the number of monasteries and other religious institutions which dispensed charity to the ever-increasing multitudes which had need of it.*

It will help the reader to understand Spain's long delay in taking actual possession of California, if he will take a hasty glance at what was going on meantime in England and Holland, where government was carried on under a system directly the reverse of that of the Hapsburgs and the Bourbons. These were the countries which were making most frequent acquisitions from the possessions of Spain, and their peoples were, besides, making more rapid progress toward wealth and enlightenment than any others. In them, independence of thought was not only tolerated but encouraged, and every useful enterprise was stimulated by securing to the individual the just reward of his own labor. In England the writings of Francis Bacon were beginning to open people's minds to a new view of the uses of thinking, that was in time to work out

^{*} History of Spain and Portugal, Vol. V, Section III-Harper & Brothers, 1854.

wonderful results; in the Low Countries those of Van Linschoten and Wagenaar had given their countrymen who were accustomed to go down to the sea in ships, a vast amount of information they had never had before, in regard to winds and currents of the ocean, its harbors, islands, shoals and sunken rocks, together with maps and charts and sailing directions that were of infinite use to them. The works of Newton and Descartes were known and studied by both peoples, and by both was scientific knowledge more and more appreciated. Inventive genius began to exert itself. Old methods of doing things were improved and new ones devised; old employments were pursued with increased vigor and new ones constantly added, until all were profitably employed. As a result, within one hundred years after the people of Holland and its neighboring provinces had petitioned Philip not to force the Inquisition upon them, and accepted a war of forty years duration rather than receive it, they were rich and prosperous, while Spain, which had been rich, was bankrupt and its people starving.

During the two hundred years following the accession of Philip II, the revenues steadily declined. They were perhaps never as great as the stories we have of the golden stream poured into the treasury by Mexico and Peru would lead us to believe. Mr. Motley, after consulting all the authorities on the subject, thinks that Philip's income at no time exceeded \$16,000,000 per annum, a small sum, although money was relatively much more valuable than now. During the time of Charles II the last of the Hapsburgs, it fell below \$8,000,000 and under his successor, the first

of the Bourbons, to but little more than \$7,000,000.* At a time, therefore, when the Empire of Spain was the broadest in Europe, and when its authority in all the discovered parts of Asia, Africa, both continents of America and the islands of both oceans, was practically undisputed, it enjoyed a revenue so small that the annual output of gold in California, its long-neglected province, now exceeds it by nearly \$4,000,000, while the annual value of its hay crop exceeds its minimum revenue by a larger sum.

Under a system of government so little calculated to promote its own prosperity or that of its people, where kings were so incompetent and negligent, and ministers so corrupt, it was not possible that anything should prosper, particularly in the colonies, the management of which was left largely to viceroys appointed usually from the Spanish nobility, and without much regard to their ability or fitness to govern. They were limited in their actions by the old rules adopted by the Council of the Indies in Philip's time, with others of a similar kind issued from time to time, and little if at all calculated to promote the prosperity of either colonies or colonists. The old feudal idea that no good could originate anywhere but with the king, still prevailed, and the old regulations with regard to emigration, agriculture, manufactures and trade were continued. No foreigner was permitted to enter one of the colonies, much less to remain there, under any condition. No Spaniard was permitted to emigrate to one of them with the intention of remaining there,

^{*} Spain: Its Greatness and Decay, by Martin A. S. Hume, The Cambridge Hisorical Series—p. 382.

without a passport, to obtain which he had to pass an examination by the king's officers, the purpose of which was to discover his reason for wishing to emigrate, and more particularly the soundness or unsoundness of his religious views, if he ventured to have any. Particular care was taken not to permit Jews, who were the most thrifty residents of the kingdom, or Moriscoes, who were the most industrious, to find their way to the colonies, lest they might breed schism in the religious beliefs of those already there. The number of colonists who annually left Spain—and Portugal, while it was a part of the Spanish Empire—for the Spanish possessions in America, was therefore greatly restricted, and those who were permitted to go were not of the most enterprising or thrifty classes.

Such colonists were not calculated to advance the Spanish frontiers in the New World very rapidly, and they did not do so. They were in fact very different from the Anglo-Saxon settlers who were already beginning to find a foothold far north of Mexico in the American continent, and who later pushed their advance gradually westward, without much help from government, until they had spanned the continent. method of advancing, if indeed they had a method, was entirely different. Taught as they had been for generations, to look to government to initiate every enterprise, and furnish the propulsive force for it, they made no effort to invade the wilderness in any direction, until government prepared the way for them. In very many, if not most cases, they did nothing until government or some agent of government transferred them to some new region, and guaranteed their main-

tenance for a specified time. Sometimes a small company of soldiers under a captain, lieutenant, or even a non-commissioned officer, was sent for a greater or lesser distance beyond the frontier, to found a military post called a presidio, in some promising region. He took with him a few settlers with their families, who were to be paid a small sum per month for a year or perhaps longer, and guaranteed rations for a longer period. Sometimes married men were enlisted for these enterprises, with the understanding that they were to become settlers at the expiration of their term of enlistment. Gradually, in this way small settlements were established at remote points beyond the frontier, which were slowly increased by the arrival of other families from time to time, until a considerable region was occupied. To found these settlements the government usually supplied the settlers with domestic animals, seed grain and farm implements, as well as arms for their protection against the Indians.

Most frequently some enterprising individual who had sufficient means of his own, and who was ambitious to distinguish himself, secured authority from the viceroy to fit out a party of soldiers and settlers on his own account, for the purpose of conquering from the Indians a home for them, and a province of which he was to be governor. Where the country invaded was fertile and the Indians docile, these private enterprises were often very successful, growing and prospering even more rapidly than those established by the government itself. The settlement of Nuevo León, of which Cerralvo became the capital, was made in this way by Luis de Carabajal about 1583, and Francisco

de Ibarra, a son-in-law of the first Viceroy Velasco, a most enterprising mining prospector, pushed his explorations through Sinaloa, Sonora and Chihuahua between 1554 and 1570, and founded small settlements in Durango that became permanent.

The progress of settlement, slow as it was, while pushed on by such a method, and with such material, was more or less retarded by hostile Indians. Though those first encountered were generally effeminate and unwarlike, even the most timid and inoffensive tribes were goaded to resistance by the cruelties of Guzman and others of his kind, who aspired to make reputations as conquerors by destroying as many lives as possible, and who provoked resistance that they might gratify their lust for slaughter. Negroes escaping from the slavery for which they began to be imported soon after the Conquest, often fled to the Indians, whom they encouraged to hostility as a means of insuring their own freedom. Renegade white men who took up their abode among them, and took themselves wives from among their women, also helped to make them more troublesome, particularly in the provinces where the warlike Chichimecs, Nayarits, and later Apaches were encountered. With these last mentioned tribes, a long warfare was waged, particularly in the mountain regions, and some of them were not finally subdued, until a sturdier race and more aggressive civilization attacked them from the north.

A milder, bolder and often a more effective force than the military furnished, or than the settlers themselves offered, was always and everywhere at work in their behalf, and generally with good effect. This was furnished by the various religious orders whose members, burning with zeal to convert the heathen, were ever ready, as Friar Marcos was, to go in advance of both soldiers and settlers, even into the deserts and mountain fastnesses, and among the most hostile and implacable tribes, with their offerings of peace and good will, and promises to help ameliorate their hard conditions of life. Their promises were often poorly kept, or not kept at all, by those who came after them, and their work was brought to naught and the trials of the settlers increased rather than diminished; but nevertheless they accomplished much in the general cause of civilization, however discouraging the results they longed for may at times have seemed. Members of those orders—Franciscan, Dominican, Carmelite, Jesuit, and various others—and sometimes secular priests accompanied every expedition, whether purely military or accompanied by families for the purpose of founding settlements.

They were at first chaplains and annalists for the parties to which they were attached, keeping diaries in which they noted the length of each day's march, the character of the Indians encountered, as well as the nature of the country through which they passed, and any other information that was likely to be of interest to the viceroy, or other authority for whose information the record was kept. They often served as messengers between the commander and the Indians, particularly if the latter were disposed to be hostile, or when truce was declared after battle, and they rarely or never shirked the duty however dangerous. Finally they established missions where the govern-

ment thought desirable and so directed, for permanent missionary work. In all this they were the agents of the state as well as church, and were paid, and their establishments supported by it; and when on the march or in camp, or stationed permanently at the presidios or other military posts, they regularly said mass and performed all the other offices of the church, including that of confessor for the soldiers and the settlers.

Among these devoted friars were some whose zeal outran that of their brethren; who alone and unsupported, penetrated far into the wilderness, crossed trackless deserts, and surmounted the loftiest mountain chains, as the advance couriers of civilization. They went boldly into the camps of the Indians wherever they encountered them, without knowing whether they were likely to prove hostile or friendly, and claimed with equal confidence from both, all that the laws of hospitality might justify them in expecting. They explored the trails which later the soldiers and settlers followed, discovered and described new regions, made maps showing with surprising correctness their principal physical characteristics, and added greatly to the world's stock of geographic knowledge.

Chief among these in the history of the Southwest, were Francisco Eusebio Kino and Juan Maria Salvatierra whose names deserve to rank with those of Marquette, Hennepin and De Smet as explorers, and who like them belonged to the order of Jesuits. The first named was the explorer of Sonora and the first white man after Coronado's time to cross the Colorado River from the east; the second planted the first Chris-

tian mission in Lower California, the seed from which, though it perished and revived again, grew all the mission establishments on the coast.

Early in his missionary work in New Spain, Kino became interested in the Indians on the west side of the gulf. He was sent to the peninsula in 1683 as cosmographer of an expedition which remained nearly two years, during which time he visited its western side, where he found some blue shells that afterwards curiously helped him make a great discovery. After his return he was sent to the northern frontier, east of the gulf. Here he was indefatigable in exploring the country beyond the furthest outposts, and within ten years after his arrival had established several new missions, one of them being that of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, about one hundred and twenty miles south of the present city of Tucson, Arizona, which was ever afterwards his home.

It so happened that Salvatierra was sent to make a special examination of the missions on the northeast shore of the gulf in 1690 and there met Kino. The two zealous crusaders made long journeys together, visiting distant missions already established, and distant tribes among whom they hoped missions might some day be established; and as they journeyed they talked much about California, and possible means of carrying the banner of the cross into it. The problem was not an easy one. The fortunes of Spain were at a low ebb. The last and least capable of the Hapsburg kings was on the throne, and was dreaming of witches and other evil things, rather than thinking of the welfare of his kingdom or its people. It was not

possible to cross the gulf without government aid, for there were no ships except those the government owned, and the government had none to furnish for such use. Even a small ship would perhaps suffice, and in their anxiety the good fathers began to consider the possibility of building one that would serve their purpose. After Salvatierra returned to Neueva Viscaya, Kino continued his exploring tours, and in one of these came near the gulf at a point not far north of the thirtieth parallel, where from the top of a hill,* rising rather abruptly from the plain, his eyes were gladdened with a view of the western shore. Stretching far toward the northwest and the southwest, it lay clearly revealed in the sunlight; and as he looked he fancied he could see that the shores steadily approached each other toward He had once believed that that western shore was a peninsula, but after observing the currents of the gulf he had begun to doubt it, as they indicated that it was a strait rather than a gulf; and in that case California must be an island. What he had now seen indicated that at some point further north it might be separated from the mainland only by a narrow channel, in which case it would be easier to cross over to it than he had supposed.

He had already planned to build a boat or small ship more than thirty feet long and nearly nine wide, on the banks of a stream at some distance from the gulf, intending to make trial of it for establishing and supplying a mission on its western side; he now hoped it might serve though there was no hurry for it. Its tim-

^{*} He named this elevation El Nazareno. It was near the mouth of the Altar River.

bers needed to be seasoned before they were put together, and the work of preparing them was allowed to go forward very leisurely until exploration toward the north should disclose whatever it might have to reveal.

During the next two years Kino traveled as far north as the Gila River, but found nothing to help him determine the great question he was so anxious to solve. In 1696 he obtained permission from his superior, to visit Mexico and discuss with him and the viceroy his plans for converting California. There he was gladdened by meeting his old companion Salvatierra, who like himself had just arrived. Together they laid their hopes before the provincial of their order, and with such success as to win his hearty cooperation. The Jesuit order approved their undertaking, and in February, 1698, the viceroy formally authorized them to proceed with it, on condition that all should be done at their own expense, but in the name of the kingwhich meant that they should do everything and give the king credit for whatever success might attend their efforts.

Kino returned to his work before this license was formally issued, but Salvatierra remained behind to raise funds for the enterprise, which he succeeded in doing; and in October, accompanied by six sailors, six soldiers and their captain, and three Indians, set sail from Yaqui for the California coast. The two small boats in which the little band embarked, were separated during a storm, and each party thought the other lost, for several days. Both appear to have narrowly escaped wreck. Salvatierra and those with him were in so much distress that they cast lots "in

the name of the Holy Maria," to determine where they should seek to make a landing, and in this way they decided to try a harbor then called San Dionisio, which they did. Here the Indians received them agreeably. After landing their goods, the party constructed such fortifications as they could, and the boat was started back to Yaqui, leaving only six Spaniards and three Indians on shore. These were attacked a few days later by a swarm of Indians who had come down from the hills in the hope of robbing them, and a battle was fought which lasted through one whole afternoon. Several Indians were killed, but all those in the little fort escaped unharmed. Toward evening the attacking party gave up the fight and made peace, and a few days later the boat, which had been supposed to be lost, arrived with all on board safe and well. With this reënforcement the little party felt themselves safe from attack, and were not further molested. And so was the first mission, in what was then and now known as California, founded on October 25th in the year of our Lord 1697, and named for Our Lady of Loreto.

Although fifty-eight years of age, Kino again set about his explorations with increased vigor. The success, if indeed not the very life of the mission which Salvatierra had founded, might depend upon the discovery of a safe and convenient means of supplying it. There were many Indians living in the more or less barren regions beyond the gulf, whose physical as well as spiritual condition was deplorable. The rich valleys of the mainland could be made to supply them abun-

dantly with every necessity, if means of transportation could be found, and with their stomachs regularly filled, their conversion would be easy.

During the next six years, he made no less than six toilsome journeys through the desert regions stretching far to the east, north and northwest of the upper gulf, in none of which was he as completely successful as he hoped to be. In all of them he was more or less opposed by the views of his friends and associates, who could derive but little encouragement from the evidence here and there obtained which filled him with high hope. The trackless wastes in which they were obliged to travel, where the ever-shifting sands, blown hither and thither by parching winds, obliterated their tracks almost as soon as they had made them, leaving no mark to guide their return, the privations of the journey as well as the toil of it, discouraged others, but he never lost hope nor lacked courage. Sometimes he was for two days together without water, and at one camping-place his Indian guides assured him that he must march thirty leagues—which would ordinarily require three days time-before another water hole would be found, but he did not falter, although they were reluctant to advance. On two of these adventures he passed over what in later years became famous as El Camino del Diablo-the Devil's Own Roadwhere many perished, even after the route was mapped, and all the water holes and resting places, with distance between them, noted, so that travelers might make due preparation for what lay before them; but he had no help of this kind. He was the explorer.

LAS TINAJAS ALTAS—ONE OF THE UPPER TANKS
From "The Beginnings of San Francisco."
Photograph by Captain D. D. Gaillard of the
Boundary Commission.

LAS TINAJAS ALTAS—THE LOWER TANK
From "The Beginnings of San Francisco."
Photograph by Captain D. D. Gaillard of the
Boundary Commission.

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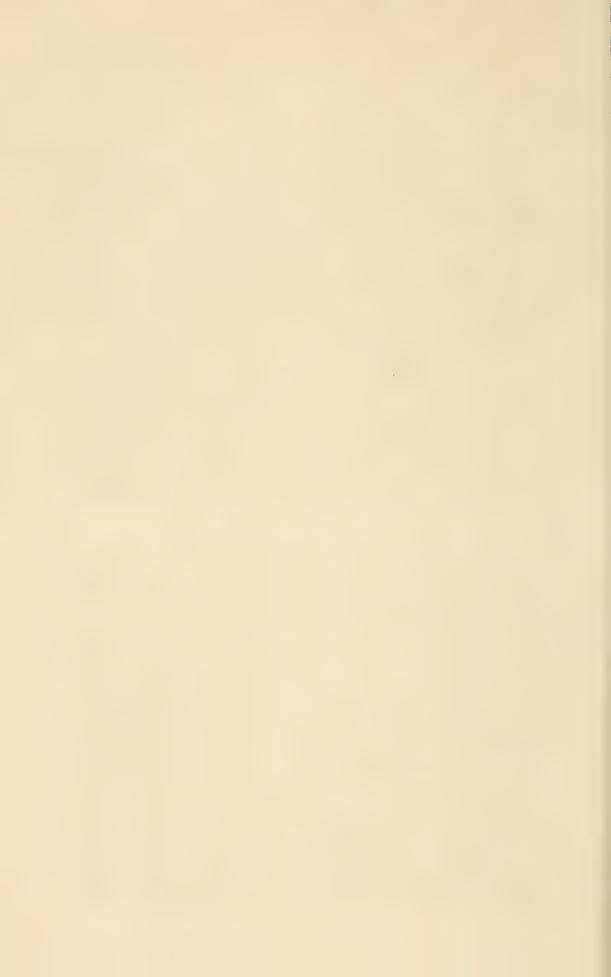
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Starting from one or other of the missions he had founded on or near the river now called San Miguel, he made three trips to the Gila in 1798 and the two succeeding years, and on the last pushed as far west as its confluence with the Colorado. The Cocomaricopa Indians, living on the Gila, gave him some beautiful shells on this trip, in which he took only a curious interest at first, but on reflection he remembered to have seen some like them once before, and from such inquiry as he was able to make he was convinced that these specimens had been obtained at the same place the Pacific shore of California. Here was evidence, he believed, of land connection between California and Mexico, for the Indians on the eastern shore of the gulf were not boat builders. He sent some of these shells to members of his order at stations further south, with letters explaining what they meant to him. The replies he received encouraged him greatly, one brother expressing the hope that he might yet demonstrate that California was a peninsula, in which case, said he, "we must erect a rich and famous statue for you; and if the way thither be short there will be two statues."

In 1701 Salvatierra crossed over to the east shore on some business connected with his mission, and being deeply interested in Kino's endeavors, joined his exploring party of that year, in which he was accompanied by Lieutenant Mange with ten soldiers and three Indians. The lieutenant was for going to the Gila by one of the routes that Kino and he had already explored, and thence following the rivers to the gulf, but Kino favored a direct route toward the point

where he believed the head of the gulf would be found. He fancied he had seen its upper extremity from the top of a high hill, not far south of the junction of the Gila with the Colorado, on his last trip, and so confident was he of his ability to go almost directly to it, that his wishes prevailed. So, bearing before them a picture of Our Lady of Loreto, before which they fancied the way became pleasanter as they advanced, they plunged boldly into the desert. For fifteen days men and animals toiled on across a sage brush country, in which they found water only at rare intervals, and pasturage was scanty. Then ascending a low hill, taking with them their picture, their eyes were gladdened by the sight of the gulf, "and the closing in of both lands of this New Spain and California." now the Indians told them there lay before them thirty leagues of sand without water or pasturage; Salvatierra determined to turn back and Kino went with him.

The problem was yet not definitely solved. All but Kino doubted that what they had seen really was the head of the gulf; even Salvatierra was not satisfied. Mange thought he had seen something like a bay opening into what seemed to be the head of the gulf, and fancied it might be the entrance to a strait—possibly Anian, or perhaps it might connect the gulf with the ocean beyond. Another journey must be made to dispel these doubts, and discover by actual view just what was there; and Kino made ready for it.

In November and December of the same year he went once more to the junction of the Gila with the Colorado; and then following the left bank of that

stream southward for some distance, he induced the Indians to ferry him across it, and for the first time set foot in California without crossing the gulf.* For some reason he proceeded no further at this time, but returning in February, accompanied by another priest—Padre Visitador Manuel Gonzales—he pushed on down the eastern bank to tide water. There was no doubt about this last-named fact, for the good father says, "the full sea rose very near to our beds."

Mange was convinced by Kino's report of this expedition, though Salvatierra remained doubtful; and nothing apparently would convince him until he should actually receive a consignment of supplies sent to him all the way by land. His responsibilities were increasing, as by this time he had two missions instead of one only under his charge, and doubtless his anxiety was increased accordingly; for they were supplied with much difficulty, and he wrote Kino urging him to make still further efforts. But the grand old explorer traveled to the Gila no more. Apparently he had made up his mind that if a land route to the new missions was to be of any value, it must cross the desert and pass the gulf very near its northern limit. To find such a route he made two journeys in 1706; keeping a course almost as directly west as that he had taken five years earlier when Salvatierra was with him. On the first, made early in that year, he reached the shore, apparently too far south to see its northern limit and so turned back; but later in the year he made one more effort which proved to be his last. Setting out in October, he was accompanied by General

^{*} This was Lower California.

Jacinto de Fuen-Zaldaña, Lieutenant Juan Mateo Ramírez and Father Manuel de la Ojuela y Velardewho were to bear witness to whatever discovery should be made - as well as by a small party of soldiers and packers. Arrangements had been made with an Indian tribe, on the border of the desert, to furnish guides to find such water holes as there might be in the wide and almost barren waste through which they well knew the last part of their course must lie; but these for some reason—doubtless because they knew too well the privations which must attend the undertaking-failed them. Without them, however, the party pushed on to a curious outpost of the Santa Clara Mountains—three rocky cones, which formed a triangle, and rose directly from huge ridges of sand which the winds for ages had been heaping up about them, in waves piled one above the other. So high were these rocky pyramids, Ojuela says, that it made one dizzy to look down from their summits, but the view attained, when the top was reached, was such as to well "reward the toil that to their summits led." A supply of refreshing water was found near the base of one of them, and the party made camp, and prepared to obtain such information about the country as might be got by surveying it from their summits, at their leisure. The southernmost was climbed that afternoon, but the top was reached too late to make a thoroughly satisfactory observation, and the party slept there. Hastening down on the following morning, Ojuela climbed the one farthest west, which they now knew to be the highest of the three. From its top he saw the head of the gulf distinctly, and

"a port three or four leagues in circuit" which forms its northern extremity, and the mouth of "the full-flooded Colorado." Beyond and around the end of the gulf, on every side, stretched a great waste of sand for more than sixty leagues apparently, "wherefore," says Ojuela, "California is not an island, but a peninsula, the truth of which the Padre Eusebio Kino, who has said and written it many times, had brought us to confirm."

Beside the spring where camp had been made, a mass was said by Father Kino, perhaps for the only time it has yet been celebrated in that wide wilderness of sand, and then the party started homewards. Kino's explorations were finished. By the mouths of two, and even more witnesses he could now prove what he had long believed and asserted to be true, and disprove some fables which he had with equal confidence believed to be false. California was a part of the mainland, and the way to it, and to the conversion of all the Indians at San Diego, along the Santa Barbara Channel, at Monterey, at the port of San Francisco, where Cermeño's ship had been wrecked—the only San Francisco then known—and even to Cape Mendocino and beyond, lay open, and could be reached without trusting to the dangers of the deep.

Five years later, in 1711, the good old man—zealous missionary and enterprising explorer that he was—died, and was gathered to his fathers; and the work he had so well begun was continued by others. He pioneered the way into California from the eastern side, though it was not until he had been in his grave

more than sixty years, that the first actual settlers coming from that direction, made use of the trail he

had long before explored.

By this slow process of establishing missions and presidios on the frontier for the conversion of the Indians and the protection of the settlers, and through the work done by these missionary explorers who brought back much useful information in regard to the character of the country lying beyond the frontier, and the best routes for reaching it, the settlement of Mexico advanced northward. Possibly for the reason that all the Europeans who came to it arrived on its eastern side, or perhaps because more fertile lands were found there, more rapid progress was made on that than its western side. As already noted, Carabajal had, about 1583, escorted a party into Nuevo León at his own cost, and founded the city of Monterey—near which a famous battle was fought two hundred and fifty years later. In 1598 Juan de Oñate, with four hundred men, one hundred and thirty of whom had families, crossed the Rio Grande, and took possession of New Mexico; but they were compelled to fall back into Chihuahua three years later. In 1608 nine padres of the Order of St. Francis began a peaceful conquest of the country, and they and others who came to their assistance, were so successful that in 1626 they had forty-three missionary establishments in the province, and numbered their converts by many thousands. 1630 Santa Fe was founded; but in August, 1680, by a general uprising and revolt of the Indians, four hundred of the inhabitants, including twenty-one friars, were slaughtered, and all the others driven back across the Rio Grande. In 1694 the province was reconquered, after much hard fighting, and its permanent settlement was begun.

The mine hunters in the mountain ranges appear to have pushed the frontier northward almost as rapidly as the soldiers and settlers advanced, on the eastern side, but on the west progress was slower. The country was not less attractive; there were many broad and fertile regions lying along the coast, and among the foothills of the mountains in Jalisco and Sinaloa, and the climate was attractive. But the Indians were more hostile, and in the north the broad stretches of desert with which Kino so often contended, for a long time delayed the advance. It was not until 1741 that presidios were established at Hermosillo, and Terrenate, and the one at Tubac-which afterwards became the starting point for the first exploring expeditions to enter California from the east-was not founded until 1752. In 1769, when Gaspar de Portolá accompanied by Father Junípero Serra and his band of ardent missionary monks set out from the peninsula, for Upper California, and took permanent possession of it in the name of the King of Spain, the remotest missions on the Mexican side of the gulf were Caborca, San Ignacio and Tubutama on the Altar, and San Xavier del Bac, only a short distance south of the present city of Tucson. These, and others not so far advanced into the Indian country, were in the charge of members of the Jesuit order, the most aggressive missionary force in the Catholic church.

They had not entered on their work in this part of the frontier with their usual enterprise, but had rather

been drawn into it by the enthusiasm of Kino and Salvatierra. The barren hills and desert valleys of the peninsula, though offering a miserable livelihood for an Indian population surprisingly large, presented a prospect that none but the most self-sacrificing enthusiast would care to make his home in. But when Salvatierra had established his two missions there, the order would not let them perish. Other members, only less zealous than himself, had taken up the work when death ended his labors in 1717, at the age of seventy-three, and there were now seventeen missions where he had left but two, the northernmost of which was Santa Maria, a little north of latitude 30°, and perhaps not much more than one hundred and fifty miles south of the southern boundary of the present state. The character of the country had steadily improved, as the missionaries had established one after another, new stations toward the north; and while there was not much prospect as yet of their crossing the line from the direction of Sonora, they could easily reach it from the peninsula. The country through which their advance must lie was less sterile, and the Indians not troublesome. Almost seventy years had passed since Salvatierra had founded the first mission at Loreto-seventy years of privation and patient toil, in a country that most of the time had not afforded them the means of subsistence—and now they were almost at the boundary of a land of plenty; but like Kino they were not permitted to go over thither.

The most aggressive force in the church was no longer to be an effective pioneer force for Spain. The order had for some years been growing unpopular,

even in some of the most catholic countries of Europe. It had recently been expelled from Portugal and France, and now most catholic Spain was to expel it, not only from the kingdom itself, but also from its most remote possessions. The wheels of progress were beginning to move even in Spain. A new king had mounted its throne in 1759—the sixth since the time of that Philip in whose reign its possessions had so vastly increased and third of the house of Bourbon. Charles III was not a great king, but he was greater than any of his predecessors since Charles I, who afterwards became Charles V of Germany, and greater than any who followed him for many generations. He was past middle age when he assumed his great responsibilities, and had already had experience in administrative affairs, first as regent in Parma, and later as King of Naples, the crown of which he was obliged to relinquish before assuming that of Spain. He was not content to leave the management of his kingdom to ministers or favorites, as so many of his predecessors had done, in order that they might devote their time to their own pleasures. He wanted to know for himself the things that kings ought to know, about the conditions and needs of their kingdoms, and to do at least some of the things that kings ought to do to benefit their peoples.

In the management of his foreign relations he was not successful, but in administering the affairs of his own kingdom and its provinces he accomplished much that was creditable. He was early drawn into the war between France and England, as an ally of France, by which he lost both Havana and Manila, temporarily to the English in 1762; and though both were shortly

after restored to him, it was at the expense of other costly concessions. Later he joined with France in aid of the American colonies in their struggle for independence, with the result that some of his own colonies caught the spirit of revolt, and it was not quelled until they were no longer subject to the Spanish crown.

In the management of domestic affairs he did not depart radically from the old feudal policy of government which Philip II had firmly established, and which his predecessors had indolently followed; but he gave that policy more intelligent direction than they had done. He early set himself to discover, through the aid of experts, or commissions chosen for the purpose, some of the things that most needed to be done to provide employment for his people, or promote the welfare of his kingdom, and so far as his resources permitted, he did what he found to do. He built roads and bridges, of which Spain was at the time greatly in need, and in other ways helped to encourage internal trade and promote the increase of agricultural activity. More liberal regulations for the encouragement of manufactures and commerce were adopted. The police force was reorganized and its efficiency greatly increased. Some attention was also paid to matters concerning the public health. Residents of cities, and particularly of the capital, were no longer permitted to empty the refuse of their kitchens and washrooms out of their windows, and were compelled to clean their streets, and keep them clean; and some of the streets were for the first time lighted.

These measures though novel were found to be beneficial, and in time became popular. The number of

beggars was reduced, as the opportunities for employment were increased, and the banditti which had long infested the streets and highways were gradually repressed by a more active administration of the law. Other measures were adopted, however, which were not received with so much favor, and these, or some of them, as may be supposed, were those designed to increase the revenues. One of them led to a riot, which in the end furnished an excuse for expelling the Jesuits from Spain.

It had been the custom two hundred years earlier, even in countries as advanced as England was at that time, to give to some favorites, or sell to capitalists who had ready money, the monopoly of supplying certain luxuries or necessaries of life, such as salt, sugar, wine, oil or even bread, and in an evil hour Charles awarded such monopolies for the bread and oil supply of his capital. The prices rose and people complained. Other new regulations, objectionable but less unpopular, were made use of by those who were displeased with them, to increase the public discontent. One of these forbade the wearing of flapped hats and long cloaks, and was really designed to lessen the number of crimes committed by bandits and night prowlers, who found in such garments very convenient concealment for their faces and weapons when committing their depredations. These now raised the cry that Spaniards were to be compelled to adopt French fashions, as well as pay high prices for the necessaries of life. The ill feeling increased; mobs collected in the streets of the capital, and finally attacked the house of the minister, who was supposed

to be responsible for the objectionable regulations. He was not found, and the rioters proceeded to the palace. The king showed himself at an upper window, where he listened to the demand of the rioters, read to him by a friar holding before him an up-lifted crucifix. They were that the prices of bread, oil, bacon and other necessaries should be reduced, and the monopoly terminated; that the decree against flapped hats and long cloaks should be recalled; that the minister-who was an Italian-should be exiled, and a Spaniard appointed in his stead. To all these the king assented and the rioters dispersed. A day or two later the mob reassembled, and became more violent than ever, and much damage to property was done in various parts of the city. There was no police or military force at hand competent to control the disturbance, and it was not until the king had given his solemn assurance that the minister had already left the country, and a further promise that all the pledges he had previously made would be faithfully kept, that the mob dispersed and peace was restored.

It was now represented to the king that the friar who had been so prominent among the rioters was a Jesuit, and that the Jesuits had been largely, if not wholly responsible for the recent troubles. Charles was not less attentive to the observances of religion than his predecessors had been, though he was less under church influence. He had already limited the activities of the Inquisition, and he was not friendly to the Jesuit order. It was no longer as popular in Spain as it once had been. It was reputed to be rich, a reputation not calculated to make it popular in a

country where nearly one-fifth of the property was held by the church, while people were poor and many starving. The king was therefore easily persuaded to follow the lead of his relative on the throne of France, and expel the order from his dominions.

The decree of expulsion was signed at Madrid on the 27th of February, 1767, and was announced to the monks in charge at Loreto on December 17th, by Gaspar de Portolá, who had recently been appointed governor of the province, and now accompanied by fourteen Franciscans, had arrived to take possession. Though here as elsewhere supposed to be wealthy, the members of the order were in fact living in poverty. No mines and few pearl fisheries of value had at that time been discovered in the peninsula, and there were no other possible sources of wealth in that barren region. A few small herds of cattle, a few stony fields from which the Indian converts, by aid of the rudest tools, could hardly wring enough each year to support their own lives and those of their teachers, and a few mission buildings, were all that the members of the proscribed order were compelled to yield to their successors, except the care of their converts, which they probably gave up with greater reluctance.

The expulsion of the missionaries from this remote frontier of his possessions, and the substitution of others in their places, had helped to draw the attention of Charles to his interests in the New World at an opportune time; for they were beginning to be menaced from several directions, and although the danger was nowhere imminent as yet, it was likely to become so. The pretensions of his predecessors to the sole sover-

eignty of the Pacific had been undisputed and undisturbed by English freebooters like Drake and Cavendish, while the Stuarts reigned in England; but in 1616 Schouten Von Hoorn had found the broad sea lying south of the southernmost point of South America, and after his time Dutch adventurers occasionally appeared on the west coast and made themselves troublesome. Some of them stationed themselves in the Gulf of California, where they lay in wait for the galleons, and committed many depredations along the coast. The English also began to be troublesome again late in the Seventeenth century, particularly in the West Indies and along the east shore of Central America and Mexico. In 1685, Swan invaded the Pacific, and lay in wait for the Manila galleon off Cape Corrientes, but missed it and revenged himself by raiding the towns along the coast, in some of which his sailors were roughly handled. In 1704, Dampier took two small vessels of no great value near the same place, and later fell in with the galleon, to which he gave battle and met with stout resistance; but after a fight lasting several hours, he was obliged to retire, with his ship in a badly shattered and almost sinking condition. Woods Rogers, with two ships came in 1708 and spread terror along the whole coast from Chile to California. He took two ships off the coast of Peru, captured the town of Guayaquil, from which he exacted a considerable ransom, defeated a large and wellmanned ship carrying twenty guns, which he supposed to be convoying a galleon, but was disappointed, and then sailed for the Philippines, where he fell in with another and much larger warship, carrying sixty

guns and four hundred and fifty men, with which he had a seven hours' fight, and was driven off with heavy loss. It was during this cruise that Rogers rescued a shipwrecked sailor named Alexander Selkirk from the island of Juan Fernandez, whom Daniel De Foe afterwards made famous as Robinson Crusoe. Shelvocke followed Rogers, and although he took no prizes of very great value, he captured several small ships, and laid several towns under tribute. He remained so long in the Pacific that he was forced to abandon his own battered and worm-eaten ship for one of his prizes, in which his cruise was completed. In 1743 Captain George Anson took a more valuable prize than any of his piratical predecessors had captured—a galleon which he fell in with soon after it left Manila. It had on board more than a million pesos in coin, besides bars of considerable value, and the usual rich cargo of Asiatic goods.

All these depredations along the Spanish coasts in the New World, and on Spanish ships in the Pacific and Atlantic, had been committed before Charles III came to the Spanish throne. His predecessors had been too indolent and incompetent to resist them, or even to make a show of wishing to do so. The Spanish people, however incompetent as they were to do anything for themselves, or their country, without the king's command, and little accustomed to manifest any patriotic spirit unless asked to do so, were not indifferent to these insults to their national dignity. Charles found them complaining loudly at the indifference of those in authority over them, and their temper no doubt had its effect in encouraging the measures which he soon

set on foot. He was naturally averse to war, but he bore the English no good will. An English admiral had once threatened to bombard the city of Naples when he ruled there as king, and to avert that calamity he had made a pledge to remain neutral in any war that England was involved in; that pledge now embarrassed him, though he did not remain idle or indifferent.

In pursuance of his policy of informing himself as to the state of affairs in all parts of the widespread domains that still remained to him, in spite of all his incompetent predecessors had lost, he sent to Mexico an agent who was not likely to fail to find out anything the king ought to know, or suggest to him any measure that ought to be adopted for the advancement of his interests. This agent was José de Gálvez who later organized the "sacred expedition" which advanced into and took possession of Alta California.

Gálvez was a man of force, and not likely to be balked in his undertakings by the incompetence, indifference or the active resistance of others, nor by any ordinary obstacles that nature might interpose. Though not of noble birth, his family had contrived to educate him, and he had then won his way to a position of influence by his own efforts. He had had some experience in diplomacy, been for several years a member of the Council of the Indies, and in 1761 was sent to Mexico as visitador, or inspector general. His mission was to find out things needing royal attention, a business for which he was admirably fitted. He appears not to have been very favorably received by Viceroy Curillas, who probably did not wish to have his repose disturbed by a stirring fellow

like Gálvez; and it was necessary to report matters to the king, who in course of time invested him with powers almost equal to those of the viceroy himself. Later still Curillas was removed and the Marques Carlos Francisco de Croix appointed in his stead. Croix and Gálvez worked together in entire harmony, the former sustaining the latter, in all his arduous undertakings. This included a personal inspection of the frontiers, particularly toward the north and west, and when completed Gálvez embodied the results of his inquiries in a masterly report to the king, dated January 23, 1768.

From the first California had been supposed, and even believed to be as rich as the mythical island for which it was named. As yet no one knew more about it than could be gathered from the reports of Cabrillo, Viscaino, Drake, and those who had caught glimpses of it from the decks of passing galleons. But whatever its resources might prove to be, its value to Spain did not depend on them alone. Beyond it that mythical Strait of Anian was still supposed to lie, the discovery and control of which would be of much importance. To find and take possession of it before some foreign explorer should discover it, was now more urgent than ever; for should the English get possession, their ships, already troublesome, might do untold damage to the interests of Spain in the Pacific.

The visitador began his report by pointing out how his majesty's interests in the New World, particularly in the northern provinces, had suffered since the time of the great Hernan Cortés, "through the great neglect with which they have been regarded in Mexico," and by reason of their remoteness from the capital, where the viceroy was always engaged with matters of more immediate and pressing importance. These provinces were now exposed to greater dangers than ever, because the way was open by the ocean for certain foreign powers to establish colonies at the port of Monterey, or some other of the harbors already discovered along that coast, as it was well known they had long had "a most eager desire" to do. It was already well known at Madrid that both the French and the English had been striving for centuries to find a northern passage to the South Sea, and that the Russians were advancing through the Sea of Tartary, toward the Spanish Indies from the north. Field Marshal Don Antonio Ricardo had left Mexico in the preceding year to present an elaborate memorial to the king on this subject, and he would not urge its importance further, as all the facts in regard to it were more easily accessible in Spain than in Mexico. The prime minister was also well aware that the English, having taken Canada and part of Louisiana from the French during the last war, would spare no expense, diligence and hardship to push forward in those regions, the explorations which the French had so far advanced there. He was informed that they were already "at the Lake of Bois (Lake of the Woods) from which issues the deep-flowing River of the West,* directing

^{*} This mention of the River of the West suggests that possibly Galvez may have been acquainted with Le Page Dupratz' *Historie La Louisiane*, published ten years earlier, in which was told the story of Montcachtabe, a Yazoo Indian, who was said to have made a long journey up the Missouri and across the Rocky Mountains, where he found another river, flowing toward the west, which he followed to the ocean, which he said was so grand that "my eyes were too small for

its course, as discovered, to the sea of that name; and if it emptied therein, or reaches the South Sea, or is (as may be the case) the famous Colorado River, which forms the Gulf of California, there is no doubt in either of these alternatives, that we already have the English very near our settlements in New Mexico, and not very distant from the western coast of this Continent of America."

The danger impending from the north was really not so great as Gálvez thought it to be, but from the east and northeast it was serious enough to deserve attention. The Russians, although they had been exploring the ocean in the far North for some years, had not yet crossed it in sufficient numbers to be very dangerous to Spanish interests. As early as 1711 Peter the Great, after extending his authority over Siberia, had planned to set on foot an exploring expedition into what he supposed to be the Pacific Ocean, although he was not then sure of it. He died, however, before getting ready, and it was not until 1728 that his widow, the Empress Catherine, was able to send Vitus Bering, in the ships Peter had ordered built, to do the work he had planned. Bering sailed north along the shores of Kamtchatka into the Arctic Sea in that year, and so demonstrated that America was not a part of Asia as had so long been supposed. In 1840 he had been sent to explore the sea toward the east, and came within sight of the American shore

my soul's ease. The wind so disturbed the great water that I thought the blows it gave would beat the land in pieces." After the publication of this book some map-makers had shown it as the "Great River of the West." Baron La Hontan's two books, Noveau Voyage dans L'Amerique, and Suite des Voyages de L'Amerique, describing his travels in the Upper lake region, had also been published in 1703 and 1704.

near Mount Saint Elias, after which he sailed toward the south and west, discovering and naming the Schumagin Islands and those of the Aleutian group. For nearly thirty years after Bering's time the Russian government made no further effort to explore the American coasts, but hardy fur hunters from Kamtchatka, making their way from island to island along the Aleutian archipelago, in boats lashed together with strips of rawhide, at last reached the eastern coast, and for some years made a precarious living by hunting. These were the first Russian fur hunters in the far northern region, and they alone, as far as Russia was concerned, threatened Spanish interests farther south at the time Gálvez was writing.

It was from the east that the real danger was approaching. The French fur hunters in Canada had pushed their explorations far beyond the Lake of the Woods, before the English conquered that province in 1763. They had regular trading stations along the north shore of the Great Lakes, and as far west as the Saskatchewan, and Verendaye had even been in the Rocky Mountains.

Their traders had been seen in the upper waters of the Platte, the Arkansas, and even as far south as the Red. Marquette, Joliet, and Hennepin had traveled far along the streams flowing into the Mississippi from the east, north of the Ohio, and La Salle had followed the great river to the gulf. Detroit had been founded on the river connecting Lakes Huron and Erie, Fort Duquesne at the confluence of the Alleghany and the Monongahela rivers, and St. Louis on the Mississippi. In 1670 Charles II had chartered "The Governor and

Company of Adventurers of England Trading into Hudson's Bay," which was later to become famous as the Hudson's Bay Company, the incorporators of which had undertaken, as one of the considerations for the privileges granted them, to explore the northern part of the continent for the strait supposed to exist there. This duty it had done little to discharge, and a member of the House of Commons had recently been urging the government to require it to proceed with the work or suffer the loss of its privileges. This was notice to the world that England was rousing itself for more active exploration, and Gálvez was right in asserting that the English would soon be "not very far distant from the western coast of this Continent of America."

The gravest source of danger to Spanish interests on the coast, as the event proved, neither Gálvez nor the Spanish ministry appear to have observed, so far as the record shows. It lay in the spirit of the settlers on the eastern shore of the continent and farther south than Canada. Near the mouth of the James River, an English-speaking colony had been planted, more than a hundred and sixty years earlier, and later another had settled on Massachusetts Bay. These colonies, though feeble at first, had successfully met and overcome all the dangers of their situation and were now grown prosperous. To these two, eleven others had been added from time to time, until they now occupied the whole eastern coast, from the territory which England had so recently acquired from France on the north, to Florida. In them there were more than three millions of people, who were but little

used to look to government for anything they could themselves provide. They had gradually pushed their frontiers westward, without much help from their king, until in New York they were beyond the Hudson, and in Pennsylvania and Virginia across the Susquehanna and Shenandoah. From North Carolina one adventurer had ten years earlier crossed the mountains and built his cabin on the headwaters of the Holston, while another was making his first visit to Kentucky. Old Fort Duquesne on the Monongahela had become Pittsburg, and Detroit near the head of Lake Erie was no longer French but English. There were French towns on both sides of the Mississippi below its confluence with the Missouri, one of which—St. Louis would some day be a great city; and near its mouth another, New Orleans.

A thing more dangerous to the interests of Spain on the coast, than the existence of these thirteen colonies, was about to happen—a thing which neither Gálvez nor the Spanish ministers would have comprehended, had they taken note of it. The three millions of people in those thirteen colonies were much dissatisfied with their king and his government, and were already corresponding among themselves, and otherwise taking council together, as to how they might best be rid of the grievances of which they complained would in a few years revolt against their government and set up one of their own, which, for the first time in human experience, should prove strong enough to preserve its own existence, and yet wise enough not to interfere with the peaceful and successful enterprises of its people. These people and the government they

were about to form would some day, not very distant, seize upon the territory which Gálvez was now about to take possession of for Spain, and build in it something grander and better than he in his day could possibly conceive.

The character of these colonists, it is clear, Gálvez did not understand; that they would revolt and form a government of their own that would become aggressive and peaceful, he could not foresee. To meet the dangers so far as he saw them, Gálvez advised the erection in the northern provinces of New Spain, including California, a new government, subject to the viceroy, but under a governor who should have full power to do everything that it might seem necessary to do, to drive back the barbarians, establish and preserve order, and extend the frontiers northward, and subject to the viceroy only in so far as "to report affairs to him and request his aid when necessary." The new governor, or intendant, was to fix his residence for the time being, at Caborca, with the view of removing it at an early day still further toward the frontier, to the Gila River or some place near it. He was to have, or ought to have, a military force of five hundred soldiers, instead of the two hundred then stationed in Sonora, Sinaloa, Chihuahua, and Durango; and in order that he might have funds to pay them promptly, as well as to conduct the other affairs of his intendencia properly, he advised the establishment of a branch mint near the silver mines of San Felipe. This mint would provide many other advantages; it would enable the miners to make use of their product without the great expense of carrying it to Mexico to be minted,

and it would greatly increase the king's imposts, as well as the one-fifth, which he claimed, of the gross output. "If," said the visitador, "it be feared that the establishment of a mint in that province would cause notable diminution in the output of the mint at Mexico, that of Sonora could be restricted to the coining of only a million pesos each year," which would be sufficient to supply the province, as well as to furnish California and Neueva Viscaya, whose inhabitants were suffering "intolerable grievances" for lack of money.

It would also be necessary to create a new bishopric in the new province, "where the tribes of Indians are exceedingly numerous and their natural disposition renders them most easily persuaded of the infallible truths of the Catholic faith." This new see ought not to be considered a burden, even though it might be necessary to assist the new prelate and his limited church with some revenue from the royal treasury, for such pension would not need to continue long, and the royal estate would be certain to be repaid, in a land where soil was so fertile and the mines so rich.

And finally, as California was still free from obstruction, a colony should, and easily could be transported to the Port of Monterey, to take permanent possession of the country and hold it. This could easily be done with the two ships already built for the use of the Sonora expedition. It only remained to establish in north-western Mexico, the authoritative government he recommended, which could "very soon promote and facilitate the settlement of Monterey and of other points on

the western coast." Once established there, it would be easy to plant other colonies at points where there were good harbors, for the soil was more fertile there than in the other provinces which the new governor would control.

This general plan for pushing forward the Spanish frontier in the New World more actively than heretofore, had much to commend it. It had the cordial approval of the Marques de Croix, the viceroy, and there can be no doubt if it had been adopted by the ministry, it would have been worked out with vigor; for Gálvez intended to be the first governor in this new intendencia himself. With the means which he well knew would be required, and which he would have provided for himself, had authority to do so been given, there can be no doubt that he would have taken possession of California with a firm grasp, instead of in the feeble way, which was alone left him. With the metal dug from the northern mines, coined into money as he proposed, he could have recruited colonies of settlers in much larger numbers, and escorted them by the land route to the distant country it was all important to possess and defend. The route was difficult, no doubt. It lay across broad deserts, in which there was no food for man or beast, and but little water; and yet by that route finally came the largest and most useful colony brought to California during the whole term of Spanish occupation. But difficult as it was, it was not more so than the route by sea was in those days, while its possibilities were far greater. By sea, colonists could come only in the small ships which the government provided. The government three thousand miles

away, which knew nothing of the circumstances, would provide no others and it was not possible for private enterprises to do so. By the land route, toilsome as it was, they might come in any numbers, and there was waiting at Tubac a man who was quite competent and willing to escort them, and was soon to give evidence of his ability to do so. Even at that moment he was proposing to organize and lead a colony into the country at his own cost. The plan was comprehensive, feasible and in every way practical; but before the memorial had been dispatched, the ministry had taken alarm at some report of Russian activity in the north, and sent an order to the viceroy to take measures at once to meet their advances. This order, by a curious coincidence, bore the same date as the memorial. By the time it reached Mexico, Gálvez had started for the coast to push his preparations in the north, and on the peninsula, while awaiting the action of the ministry; but it was forwarded to him at San Blas by Croix, and must have been received with great satisfaction, for now that the king and his ministers were aroused to the need of action, in the direction he had indicated, the plan he had suggested would be favorably received and most likely approved. He was therefore free to do what he could with the means at hand, until the others he had asked for should be provided. were two small ships and three sloops or brigantines that had been prepared for an expedition up the gulf to Sonora, a few Franciscan friars and a few soldiers.

A man of less energy and force of character would have found abundant excuse to attempt nothing with such means; to wait until the king should learn how

grave the danger really was, and how much more was required to meet it; but Gálvez was not of that kind. Had he been disposed to regard adverse circumstances as evil omens, as many were in his time, or to lose hope when fair prospects one after the other proved disappointing, he would have felt his heart sink within him; for in his first attempt to cross the gulf he encountered a storm, which, after battling with it for eight days, forced him to take refuge on an island, and finally to return to Mazatlan. When he at last reached the peninsula early in July, he could find only one habitable spot in it, and that was at a mining camp near La Paz. The missions were in a deplorable condition of poverty, and the Indians starving, naked, devoured with diseases which the soldiers and sailors had communicated to them, and running wild in the hills. The outlook was not encouraging for converting the savages of Upper California into civilized colonists if anything at all were done.

But Gálvez did not despair. It was still possible that the plan he had proposed for taking and keeping possession of California and other northern provinces would be approved. Meantime he could send forward his missionaries and establish missions along the coast as far north as Monterey—the most northerly harbor at that time known, except that then called San Francisco, in which Cermeño had been wrecked so long ago. These must depend for the time being, and until they could support themselves, on such doubtful means of supply as the ships of the time could afford them; and when the main portion of his plan was approved, and a government established in Sonora and Chihuahua,

they could be reënforced rapidly and supplied regularly. There would then be no doubt of success and the king need have no further fear of Russians or English in that quarter.

But the essential part of the plan was not approved at that time, not until long after, and then the most vital part of it was lacking. Gálvez was not the head

of it.

CHAPTER V. THE "SACRED EXPEDITION"



HE problem that confronted Galvez on his arrival in the peninsula was a difficult one. He was to advance into, take and hold possession of a distant country, with a coast line of unknown extent, the two known harbors in which as well as the others not yet known, were open to any who had the means and the inclination to invade them. The country was as yet unexplored and its value unknown. The little that had been seen of it from the sea by Cabrillo two hundred and thirty years earlier, and occasionally from the decks of passing ships since that time, had sometimes seemed inviting and sometimes forbidding—occasional smiling valleys, and long stretches of rugged mountains, sometimes white with snow, as they had reported. Beyond them, the land might be extremely fertile, abounding in all that man requires for his subsistence or delights in, or it might be a desert. To discover what it really was, to fortify, people, develop and defend it against all comers, was the duty Gálvez now had in hand.

In writing his memorial to the king six months earlier, he had said it would be easy to do this—that is it would be easy if furnished with five hundred soldiers, and vested with authority to command the resources of the neighboring Mexican provinces, including the king's fifth of all the gold and silver mined in them, to be coined at a mint provided for the purpose, and delivered to him as he might require. With such resources he could send settlers from these provinces overland, escorted by a guard sufficient for their protection, and others by sea from the provinces further south; he could send artillery and ammunition for the fortifications

in the harbors that he must arrange to defend, and stores to supply both soldiers and settlers until the country should be so far developed that such supplies would no longer be necessary. He could send missionaries as numerously as they were required, or should be provided, and transport for them bells for their missions, vestments, vessels and symbols for their altars, and all else that should be required for those impressive ceremonies which had already been proved to be effective instruments in the subjugation of savage humanity. For the present the five hundred soldiers, the mint, the money and the settlers to be sent by the land route, were not available, though they might be placed at his disposal when the king should find time to read his memorial; until then he must do what he could without them.

He set resolutely about the work. He did not lack authority to use whatever means there were, or to decide how much he ought to undertake to do with them. The king's order directed only that provision be taken to guard the coasts of California; the viceroy had added a suggestion that a maritime expedition be sent to Monterey, but left it to the wise judgment of the inspector general to adopt such means as he might consider most opportune and conducive to so commendable an object.

Neither king nor viceroy appears to have realized how much they were requiring. The coasts claimed by Spain extended from Cape San Lucas to the Rio de los Reyes,* or through about eighteen degrees of

^{*} Probably Rogue River in Southern Oregon, the farthest limit reached by Ferrelo in 1543 and Aguilar in 1602.

latitude and across nearly fifteen degrees of longitude. Only two of its harbors had been visited and described, although a third was somewhat vaguely reported to exist still further north. Sir Francis Drake, "the master thiefe of the unknown worlds," had repaired his ship in such a place in 1579, and Cermeño had lost the San Agustín on its shore in 1595. Since then it had been mentioned by various writers and map-makers as the Bay of San Francisco; though the name was applied to the greater outside sweep of water between Point Reyes, the Farallones, and Point San Pedro. It was this outer bay that Cabrera Bueno, the Philippine pilot, in his sailing directions for the Philippine galleons, published at Manila in 1734, had called the Bay of San Francisco, and spoke of it as being well known. Venegas had mentioned the same outer bay by the same name in 1739, and it was from these Spanish writers that the viceroy and Gálvez and all others who were then, or later, interested in this undertaking, got all the information they had to guide them in their work. Nobody had as yet observed the opening, now world famous, as the Golden Gate, or guessed the existence of the great inland sea that lay behind it. Cabrillo and Ferrelo and Viscaino had sailed by it, but in stormy weather, and the crew of the San Agustín had rowed past it after building a boat in Drake's Bay, where they had left the wreck of their ship, doubtless too intent on making their escape to Acapulco to care about making discoveries.

For the present it seemed necessary only to take possession of San Diego and Monterey. Whatever lay beyond them must remain as it was until the settlements to be established should grow strong enough to send explorers into it; or until the king or viceroy should furnish means for its subjugation and defense, if it should seem to be worth subduing and defending. Monterey was in latitude 37° north, according to Viscaino's calculation, or nearly fifteen hundred miles by sea, and more than a thousand by land, from La Paz where the expedition must be fitted out. To organize and transport thither a force sufficient for the purpose, even from more abundant resources than were at the visitador's command, would have been no inconsiderable undertaking.

We learn from the admirable narrative of Miguel Costansó,* the engineer of the expedition, how energetically and intelligently he applied himself to the work, and how persistently he urged it forward to "He overcomes obstacles by diligence, and by dividing the difficulties," he says. He first sought to ascertain the nature and value of the resources he could command. On reaching San Blas he consulted with the commander of that department, the military officers and such pilots as were found there, and learned from them that the only ships on which he could rely for sending soldiers, settlers and supplies by sea, were the packets San Carlos and San Antonio, which had recently been built for service on the gulf between San Blas and Sonora. These, with two much smaller boats, probably sloops that had been used to transport supplies to the missions, comprised the entire royal

^{*} The official account of the Portolá Expedition of 1769-1770—Publications of the Academy of Pacific Coast History, Vol. I, University of California, Berkeley, Cal., 1909.

navy on the west coast of the continent, except the galleons engaged in the Philippine trade, or in the trade with Peru, none of which could be spared from that service. The San Carlos and San Antonio had been dispatched northward with troops and supplies in March, and if their voyage had been prosperous, their return at an early day might be hoped for. Until they should appear and the result of their voyage be known, it was not possible to make any arrangements with regard to them, or the soldiers or officers they had taken north, some of whom might possibly be recalled, if there should be more need for them for the California expeditions than in Sonora. Giving directions for the collection of supplies, and for such other preparations as must be made on that side of the gulf in his absence, and to have the two ships sent to La Paz as soon as they should arrive, Gálvez set out for the peninsula on May 24th.

Arrived there he found a state of things that could have given him but little hope for the success of his enterprise. Although his arrival was expected, no better place for his accommodation had been provided than was found at a small mining camp; and as he went from mission to mission investigating conditions, and inquiring for the means he was to use in taking possession of a province a thousand miles distant, he found that none better existed. The missions were in a state of squalor. Their spiritual affairs only were in charge of the Franciscans; their temporal management was in the hands of soldiers who had been assigned to that duty by order of the viceroy, agreeable to the

regulations for the control of the missions.* But the soldiers in this case were even less competent than the friars. As Gálvez said, soldiers were taught only to serve, and were capable of managing nothing except possibly their horses. Of reckless and extravagant waste there was evidence everywhere. At one mission six hundred cattle had been slaughtered within six months after these soldiers took charge, at another four hundred, and at still another three hundred. At that rate the mission herds must soon be exterminated. All the Indians were insufficiently fed, were wholly unclothed, were devoured by the diseases they had contracted from their white protectors, and were roaming more or less at their own will in the mountains in search of food. Under such circumstances discipline was impossible, and progress toward civilization and usefulness unlikely.

Exercising the power conferred upon him by both king and viceroy to do whatever might seem necessary, the visitador at once removed these soldiers from the missions, and gave the friars full control. It was perhaps as a result of this experience that they were later given control, in temporal as well as spiritual matters, in the missions of California, a control which they retained to the end.

The presidio, or military post, where such of the soldiers as were not assigned to the missions were stationed, was at Loreto, where the governor, Don Gaspar de Portolá had his headquarters. It was

^{*} Adopted no doubt on the theory that the friars would be sufficiently occupied in imparting religious or secular instructions to their Indian pupils, or that they would be incompetent to manage the farms, the flocks and the herds on which all must depend for the most part for subsistence.

under the immediate command of Don Fernando de Rivera y Moncada, who had been in the peninsula for more than a dozen years, while Portolá had resided there only since the expulsion of the Jesuits. On consultation with these officers, it was found that no more than forty soldiers, at most, could be spared from the garrison for the enterprise in hand—rather a small force with which to conquer and garrison a distant province. It was plain that some of the soldiers recently sent to Sonora must be recalled, if they could be spared, and this would take time, as the ships which had borne them thither must return for them, and their whereabouts were at present unknown.

The visitador had learned at Loreto that there were not more than four hundred gentes de razon (people of reason—civilized people) in the peninsula. These were the soldiers, many, or perhaps most of whom had families, the miners employed at the mines where he had found entertainment on his arrival, and the priests in the fifteen missions. It was plain that no great number of colonists could be recruited among these, and colonists had held an important place in his calculation thus far. It was to plant colonies in the regions beyond Sonora, Chihuahua and California that he had asked in his memorial that five hundred soldiers be furnished him, "for," he had said, "as the profitable idea of establishing settlements on the frontiers of these provinces has for its aim to guard them from the invasion of the infidel Indians, it will result in liberation from the useless and insupportable burden of so many garrisons, which, as events prove, are of little or no use." Colonists could not be recruited on the mainland without

much loss of time. The king's order was imperative. An expedition of some sort must be sent forward as soon as the ships should arrive, and they were now expected daily.

The missionary feature of the enterprise had not occupied a large place in his original plans. It had not been forgotten, for neither the Spanish kings nor their viceroys, nor anyone who represented them, ever forgot or neglected Pope Alexander's admonition about sending God-fearing men everywhere with their soldiers and settlers, "to instruct the heathen in the true religion and good manners." In the larger plans of colonization, which he had proposed in his memorial, he had suggested the creation of a new see, and a bishop whose "ardent zeal and Apostolic ministry would immensely advance the conversion of the Heathen, hastening their reduction by influence near at hand, and conquering many souls for the Creator, at the same place with which new domains are acquired for the Sovereign, who is His Immediate Vicar in the world." With the assistance of a bishop, he would not need to give this part of the undertaking much attention; but it was apparent now that he must attend to it as to everything else himself.

As his investigations progressed, it became more apparent that the missionaries must be depended upon for a larger part in this enterprise than had been required of them in any other. What the presidio at Loreto could not supply in the way of soldiers, the priests must be relied upon to provide, by converting the Indians and changing them from savages into peaceful, law-abiding, patriotic, and obedient subjects

of the king; for a thousand miles of sea coast could not long be defended by forty soldiers, even if they should be able to take peaceful possession of it; nor could they long be supplied with food and clothing without settlers to till the ground and sustain them in other ways, should occasion demand. So it was that the missions of California had from the beginning a larger political purpose than missions had ever had before in Spanish policy.

It will be well for the reader to get here as clear a view as possible as to just what these Californian missions were; for many people who have written about them have wholly misconceived their true nature and purpose. They were quite unlike the missions established by De Smet and his associates in the Rocky Mountain regions, and by Fathers Blanchet and Demers and their ardent coworkers-Pandozy, Mesplie and others, in Oregon—built up and managed by the missionaries themselves without other assistance. members of the various mendicant, or missionary orders in Spain, did not, like their fellows in other countries-Lallemand and Brébeuf in Canada, heroic Jogues in New York, or Marquette and Hennepin and thousands of others in regions farther west-go alone among the savages, persuading them to accept the teachings of their church, and gradually assembling them about missionary centers, where they taught them the arts of civilized life. They did not lack the courage to do this, and some of them at least did not lack the inclination, though they could not fail to be unfavorably influenced, as laymen were, by the assumption of a paternal government to do all the thinking and managing for its people in temporal affairs, and most of the managing in spiritual matters.

The church which had been so naturally and efficiently helpful in organizing government out of the chaos and confusion that followed the overthrow of the Roman Empire, remained in close alliance with it in Spain, long after a separation had begun and was well nigh completed in other countries of western Europe. In the Eighteenth century its high dignitaries were almost always influential in the councils of the Kings of Spain, and sometimes they dominated everything. At the same time the government established and abolished religious institutions of various sorts, endowed or otherwise supported churches, named bishops, gave or confiscated benefices, and even upon occasions vetoed the decrees of the pope so far as they applied to Spain or its colonies. It was only natural that a government whose relations with the church were so intermingled should feel as much responsibility for religious affairs in its provinces as at home, and that it should expect to receive as many benefits through its influence.

Among these benefits revenue was always important. Even good Queen Isabella had expected that the Indians would contribute something to support the government from which they were to receive so many blessings, though both she and her successors had directed that whatever was required from them should be "as from free persons and not as slaves." As they had nothing, and no means of procuring anything while left to themselves, they were in time assigned to the

adventurers who went to the New World in haste to get rich, to be employed in larger or smaller numbers in encomienda,* as it was called, at whatever labor the person to whom they were so assigned might require of them. The expectation doubtless was that they would be reasonably well treated, that no more would be required of them than was reasonable, and that they would be given such instructions by the priests assigned for that purpose, as would gradually or rapidly advance them toward civilization. But those to whom they were assigned paid little heed to what was expected of them. The Indians, unaccustomed to work and unwilling to learn, were driven to it like slaves, as they really were, and often compelled beyond their strength. Forced to live in confinement, and amid unsanitary surroundings, in a hot climate, they soon died by hundreds, while the secular priests who had been sent to convert and instruct them, did little to ameliorate their condition. But when the members of the mendicant orders began to arrive in the New World, the pitiable conditions prevailing in the encomiendas attracted their attention and a protest was made, which in time reached the king. By direction of Charles V some better means of reaching the Indian with what civilization had to offer, and of getting from him what it was thought he, in reason, ought to give in return for it, was earnestly sought. Pedro de Córdova and later Bartolomé de las Casas, two prominent members of these orders, interested themselves in the matter, and gradually a new system with laws

^{*} Encomienda—commission, charge, commandery, protection. The Encomienda system conferred feudal rights on the Spaniards, who made the Indians their vassals.

for its government, called the Laws of Burgos, was evolved. The friars of the several orders were to go alone among the Indians, even the most savage tribes, and labor for their conversion, at the same time instructing them in the arts of civilized life. This they undertook to do, and for a time their efforts seemed likely to be Even by some of the most savage tribes they were received and well treated, much to the surprise of the soldiers and others, who had not even been able to approach them, except in a warlike way. It was found, however, that the savage was not always to be trusted. In a few cases, as happened elsewhere, the Indians tired of their instructors and murdered them or were provoked to commit atrocities by white men who appeared in their neighborhood, and the government decided to furnish the missionaries with guards. Thus the Spanish mission system began to take the form which it ever after maintained.

In course of time the system was modified as the result of experience, or changed to suit the varying conditions found among different tribes. Sometimes the management was wholly in the hands of the missionaries; sometimes their duty was solely to look after the spiritual welfare of the Indians, while the soldiers or others were appointed to manage temporal matters. Gradually, as time progressed, the mission came to be a principal instrument of government in advancing the frontiers. Its object was not solely to convert the Indian—to save his soul—though that was always the main object the missionaries had in view; but it was to so far civilize him as to make him a self-supporting, tax-paying Spanish subject. Meantime, while undergoing the civi-

lizing process, he would serve in some sense as a protection for the older and more advanced colonists behind him against incursions by the savage tribes beyond, and would also help to hold the country he lived in for the king against foreign invaders.

As established in California, it was quite as much a political as a religious institution. The missions were planted under the protection of the king's soldiers; the missionaries were transferred to their several posts of duty by means which the king furnished, and the missions were stationed at places selected by the civil or military authorities, and no other. They were supplied with domestic animals, with farm implements, with a variety of seeds for field, orchard, and garden, and with a military guard to defend them in time of danger. All this was done in the hope and expectation that in this way the country might be colonized with its own native inhabitants. When the Indians should, by this means, be changed into good Spanish subjects, the mission property which they should meantime create, was to be divided among them. The mission would then become a pueblo, or village, in which each Indian would have a home. Outside the village he would have a farm, for which he would be provided with seeds, farm implements, and domestic animals from the mission stores and herds; the mission church would become a parish church, whose pastor would be a secular priest—or one of the missionaries if he chose to remain in that capacity—and the whole would form an industrious, peaceable, and civilized community. Then the missionaries, if they did not wish to remain as pastors, were to return to Mexico, or go again into the wilderness to build up new missions. The friars all understood this from the beginning, and some of them at least came to California with the expectation of returning, in a few years, to their college, which was to be their home.

Strangely enough it appears to have been expected that all this great change from savagery to civilization, would be accomplished within the short space of ten years. The semi-civilized people that Cortés had found upon his arrival on the continent had accepted the new religion which the priest who came with, or soon followed him, offered them, with more or less readiness. As Mr. Prescott has explained they needed only to transfer their homage from the cross which they had worshipped as the emblem of the god of rain, to the same cross—the symbol of salvation.* Various tribes elsewhere had shown similar docility, and though these were by no means numerous, the Council of the Indies, which made laws for the government of the missions as well as everything else, seems to have assumed that what had been done among these ought to be done among all, and made laws accordingly. Once made, these laws or regulations were changed slowly, if at all. The experience of two hundred years had not shown many instances where the mission system could be safely abandoned, at the end of the ten-year term. In the Cerro Gordo and a few other districts, they were secularized — converted into pueblos — as planned, though in most cases at the end of much longer terms.

^{*} Conquest of Mexico, Chap. IV.

FRAY JUNÍPERO SERRA (MIGUEL JOS´ SERRA)
First president of the California Missions.

From a painting formerly in the College of San Fernando in the City of Mexico, painted in 1773.

Born on the island of Mallorca, November 24, 1713; died at the mission of San Carlos de Monterey, August 28, 1784. The picture generally circulated as Fr. Junípero Serra is the fanciful production of an artist in Mexico after the death of Junípero, the figure being one of a group (posed with their backs to the altar,) representing Fr. Junípero receiving the Holy Viaticum.

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Still the law remained and continued to be regarded as the only sure basis of expectation as to what the missions would accomplish in each new district.

Had the Spaniards been more careful students, or better observers of the results already accomplished, they probably would not have entertained such high hopes as they did for the California missions; and no doubt if he had found more soldiers, or a larger supply of materials for colonists awaiting him in the peninsula, Gálvez would not have depended so largely on them for the success of his enterprise. As it was, he was forced to give them a large place in his calculations, and rely upon them more than any other resource for success.

Certainly the condition in which he had found the missions of the peninsula on his arrival, was not calculated to encourage much hope for them. That condition he had taken means to improve, by removing the soldiers from their temporal management, and giving it to the friars themselves. When he came to consult with the friars, the wisdom of what he had done was doubtless confirmed, and his hope for what they might accomplish under better management increased; for some of them were remarkable men in their way.

Chief among them was Father Junipero Serra, who entered heartily into the hopes and plans of the visitador. He was a man wholly devoted and consecrated to missionary work. He was then fifty-five years old, having been born in the Island of Mallorca, November 24, 1713. He took the Franciscan habit in 1730,* and came

^{*} At which time he took the name of Junipero; his baptismal name was Miguel José Serra.

to Mexico in 1749. He was an ardent imitator of the founder of his order, following rigorously all the austerities of life which he had practiced and enjoined. He delighted in mortifying the flesh. Like St. Simon of old, he seems to have refused to defend his own body against the attacks of such living things as might wish to feed upon it: and because he would not properly cover his feet while sleeping to protect them from the attacks of the myriads of mosquitoes encountered while on the journey from Vera Cruz to the City of Mexico, he was so poisoned that he was lame forever after. Yet he would take no means to alleviate his sufferings. He believed in penance as a means of "purging earth from the carnal gaze," and was accustomed to scourge his shoulders with a small iron chain which he kept for the purpose. Sometimes also he would beat his breast with a stone, or apply a lighted candle to his naked arm while preaching, or exhorting his hearers to penitence. He believed in miracles, rejoiced in martyrdom, and doubtless hoped for it for himself. He was a religious enthusiast, eager to make every sacrifice, and even to exhaust himself for the conversion of the heathen, believing patience and suffering to be "the inheritance of the elect, the coin with which heaven is bought."

He entered heartily into the visitador's plans, so far as his part in them was concerned; and although details are lacking, we may well suppose that the missionary part of the enterprise took on a new aspect of importance as their consultations progressed. It was early determined that the missions of the peninsula must furnish what they could, not only in the way of vestments and church furniture, but also in such supplies as dried fruit, wine, oil, and vinegar together with horses, mules, and other kinds of stock for those to be founded in the unexplored country to which they were going; and an order was sent to the friars in charge to select from each whatever could be spared. Part of these contributions were to be given outright, on the principle, long established, that old missions must assist the new ones; and part were loaned,* to be repaid in kind, when repayment should be possible.

During their consultations about these matters the visitador and father president also considered the number of new missions they would be able to establish, their location and the names to be given them; for Gálvez overlooked nothing even of the smallest detail. It is interesting to note that he apparently decided everything, whether it pertained to matters secular or matters spiritual. Busy as he was in procuring supplies, in a region where it was so difficult to obtain them, in providing means of transportation where such limited means existed, urging everybody to do his best where nobody was accustomed to do more than urgent necessity required, he still found time to make plans for everything, to change them as occasion compelled, and then to see that they were carried into execution as he wished, as well as to attend to some things that might well have been left to others. When he learned how few soldiers could be sent from the garrison at Loreto, he hastened to make inquiry as to how many could be spared from distant Sonora; and

^{*} Repayment of these loans appears to have been largely, and perhaps wholly neglected, although the new establishments became amply able to pay a few years after they were founded, while those in the peninsula remained poor.

in time ordered that Lieutenant Fages and twentyfive members of his company of Catalan volunteers, who had just been sent thither, should be returned, and sent to join him at La Paz. These were regular soldiers recruited from Spain, and could be relied upon for certain duties more confidently than those at Loreto, who had been recruited in Mexico, and more nearly resembled militia. When it became evident, as it did, that the ships he was to have would not be able to transport these soldiers and others who were to go in them, together with the supplies necessary to maintain the party until more could be provided, he ordered a new ship—a small one but sufficient for the purpose to be built at San Blas. This was named the San José, and was to transport supplies only. As two military posts were to be established, one at San Diego and one at Monterey, for the defense of their harbors, it was decided that a mission should be established near each, since as many Indians were likely to be found there as elsewhere; the third mission was to be placed at some intermediate point near the coast.

In choosing names for these missions—which he did—Gálvez showed how careful he was to neglect nothing that might encourage the activity, or stimulate the enterprise of any of his associates or assistants. As Viscaino had given the name San Diego to the first port to be occupied, that fact precluded the possibility of giving any other to its mission. That to be near the presidio at Monterey should be called San Carlos, in honor of the famous Cardinal Archbishop of Milan, Carlos de Borromeo. As for the third, it should be San Buenaventura, in remembrance of a pious and

prophetic exclamation once addressed by Saint Francis to one who later became minister-general of the Franciscan Order.

Padre Serra and his associates were not wholly pleased with the names thus selected, as that of the founder of their order was not among them. The frequent reference they made to the matter afterwards in their diaries and correspondence, shows how close it was to their hearts; but in thus omitting to honor their founder, the visitador left the fathers something to hope for, pray for, and work for.

Days, weeks, months went by and yet the ships, whose return to San Blas had been looked for daily when Gálvez left there in May, and which were to have been dispatched to La Paz as soon as they could take on board the provisions and supplies to be made ready for them, did not arrive. The visitador had hoped to see them by the middle of September, but that month passed, October and November followed, and still there was no sign of them. They had been delayed by contrary winds in the gulf, and it argued badly for what might be expected for them when they should round Cape San Lucas and brave the dangers of the great ocean. "Implore our Patroness Lady of Loreto," he wrote to Serra, "that she bring safely the paquebots, for without them everything will be undone."

As the long wait lengthened, the unwisdom of entrusting all hope for success to two small ships, whose movements in the sheltered gulf were so uncertain, became more and more apparent. At most they would

not be able to carry all who were to go, and supplies enough to maintain them in the country to which they were going, until they should be able to provide for themselves, on one voyage; and so a land expedition as well as that by sea was decided upon. It was to be composed of the soldiers to be sent from Loreto, and some of the missionaries, who were to take with them a part of the supplies, to be transported on pack mules; and with them should be driven the cattle for the new missions. When this was resolved upon, orders were sent out to assemble the mission contributions at Loreto. From that point all the animals were driven to Santa María, then the northernmost station west of the gulf, while the provisions, and whatever else was to be forwarded by land, were placed on board four lighters prepared for the purpose, and sent along the coast to the Bay of San Luis Gonzaga, which was near the same destination. From there everything was transferred to Velicatá, some thirty miles further north, which was to be the final rendezvous and point of departure.

The San Carlos, the larger of the two ships, was the first to appear at La Paz. She had encountered much rough weather and did not arrive until the middle of December. Although a comparatively new ship, she had been so buffeted by wind and waves on her trip to Guaymas in Sonora and return, that it was not considered safe to send her round the peninsula without repairs and she was accordingly beached, partly unloaded, and careened so that her opening seams might

be recalked. The busy visitador hastened the work in every way, encouraging the workmen by his untiring energy, and at times assisting in it with his own hands.

Before it was completed, news arrived that the San Antonio, which had been loaded at San Blas, had been driven off shore by adverse winds when near La Paz, and forced to seek shelter near Cape Pulmo. Fearing that she might encounter worse difficulties if she attempted to return, Gálvez sent orders to her captain, Juan Perez, to proceed to the Bay of San Bernabé, near Cape San Lucas, where he would join him in a few days, when the San Carlos was ready.

By noon on January 9th, the repairs were completed, all her cargo, crew, and company were on board, and the San Carlos was once more floating with the rising tide. Then the visitador and Padre Serra came on board, and a parting mass was said, followed by an eloquent sermon by the padre president, and a stirring speech by the visitador, after which the ship and the standards were given a farewell parting blessing.

At midnight the anchors were taken up and the sails set to catch the scarcely perceptible breeze blowing off shore, and with a launch in front the ship moved slowly out into the stream. All the following day until four o'clock was consumed in getting out to deep water, and at half past six on the morning of Wednesday, January 11th, a strong breeze coming from the northwest, her top sails were set, and her voyage begun. The visitador in a small vessel called La Conceptión, put off from shore at the same time, to accompany her as far as Cape San Lucas for a final leave-taking, and as soon as he was recognized, he was greeted with shouts

from those on deck and a salute from six small cannon, which had been made ready for the purpose.*

The ship could have made better time than she did in reaching the cape, had she not been accompanied by the Conceptión, which was but a poor sailer; but she carried the visitador, the head of the expedition, and Father Serra of the missions, and proper respect for their authority and dignity required that they should not be left behind. Only once during the four days were all her sails set, in order that she might show what she could do, and that was at the visitador's request. The exhibition began at four o'clock in the afternoon of the second day, and continued until sunset, when the captain says he was a league ahead.†

† Diary of Vicente Vila—Publications of the Academy of Pacific Coast History, Vol. II, No. 1.

^{*} The San Carlos had on board her captain, Don Vicente Vila, a lieutenant of the royal navy, with his mate, Don Jorge Estorace, a crew of twenty-three sailors, two boys, two blacksmiths, and four cooks; and as passengers, Lieutenant Don Pedro Fages and twenty-five soldiers of the Catalan Company, Ensign Don Miguel Costansó, engineer of the expedition, Don Pedro Prat, surgeon, and Father Fernando Parron, one of the five missionaries who were to plant the banner of the Cross for the first time in Alta California, as chaplain. Her cargo was composed partly of supplies and partly of church property which the missions had contributed. Bancroft has condensed from Father Palou's inventory the following, showing of what this Church property consisted, which he says is as nearly accurate as the good padre's occasional use of such terms as "several," "a few," etc., makes posgood padre's occasional use of such terms as "several," "a few," etc., makes posible: 7 church bells; 11 small altar bells; 23 altar cloths; 5 choir copes; 3 surplices; 4 carpets; 2 coverlets; 3 roquetes; 3 veils; 19 full sets sacred vestments, different colors; 6 old single vestments; 17 albas, albs, or white tunics; 10 palios, or palliums, short cloaks; 10 amitas, amices, or pieces of linen; 10 chasubles; 12 girdles; 6 hopas, or cassocks; 18 altar linens, or corporales; 21 purificados, purificatories or chalice cloths; 1 pall cloth; 11 pictures of the virgin; 12 silver or gilded chalices; 1 cibary, or silver goblet; 7 crismeras, or silver philas for chrism, or sacred oil; 1 custodia, or silver casket for holy wafers; 5 conchas, or silver conchas for hopeing 6 incapacies or silver cannot with incorporal dish and appears. for baptism; 6 insensarios, or silver censers with incense dish and spoon; 12 pairs of vinegeras, silver and glass cruets for wine and water; I silver cross with pedestal; I box containing Jesus, Mary and Joseph; I copper platter for baptismal font; 2 copper baptismal fonts; 29 brass, copper, and silver candlesticks; I copper dipper for holy water; I silver jar; I tin wafer box; 3 statues; 2 silver suns or dazzlers; 4 irons for making wafers; coins and rings for arras at marriages; 5 arras, or consecrated stones; 4 missals and a missal stand; I Bentancurt's Manual; also quantites of handkerchiefs, curtains, and tinsels; with laces, silks, and other stuffs to be made into altar upholstery, taken from the royal almacen at Loreto.

At vespers on the evening of the fourth day the two ships came to anchor in the Bay of San Bernabé under Cape San Lucas, and Captain Vila made his official call on the visitador. On Sunday morning at eight o'clock, everything had been made ready on the deck of the San Carlos for the final leave-taking ceremony. The weather was propitious, the sky cloudless, the sea calm. The visitador, accompanied by his staff, came on board, a last mass was said, and then all who were not to go with the ship took their leave, the visitador giving Captain Vila explicit orders, at parting, to attend carefully to his instructions and proceed to his destination without loss of time. The remainder of the day was spent in filling the water casks, and at seven o'clock in the evening of Sunday, the 16th, with all sails set, the ship stood out to sea.*

During the five succeeding days she lay becalmed, or made but little headway, the occasional light, variable breezes urging her toward the south rather than in the direction she was to go. At the end of the first day she was not more than three miles off the coast,

^{*} I have found nowhere any definite statement reporting the size of these ships. The manifest of the San Carlos, signed by Vila, shows the following as comprising her cargo, according to Bancroft: 4676 lbs. meat, 1783 lbs. fish, 230 bushels maize, 500 lbs. lard, 7 jars vinegar, 5 tons wood, 1275 lbs. brown sugar, 5 jars brandy, 6 tanates figs, 3 tanates raisins, 2 tanates dates, 300 lbs. red pepper, 125 lbs. garlic, 6678 lbs. bread, common, 690 lbs. bread, white, 945 lbs. rice, 945 lbs. chickpeas, 17 bushels salt, 3800 gallons water, 450 lbs. cheese, 6 jars wine, 125 lbs. sugar, 275 lbs. chocolate, 10 hams, 11 bottles oil, 2 lbs. spice, 25 smoked beef tongues, 6 live cattle, 575 lbs. lentils, 112 lbs. candles, 1300 lbs. flour, 15 sacks bran, 495 lbs. beans, 16 sacks coal, hens for the sick and breeding. The total of pounds here given is 45.051. Estimating the water at 10 lbs. per gallon (the weight of an imperial gallon), the cattle at 1000 lbs. each, the coal at 200 lbs. per sack, the 62 members of the crew and passengers at 200 lbs. each, and the church furniture, figs, raisins, salt, bran and bottled goods with equal liberality, and the total dead weight carried did not exceed 108,000 lbs, or 54 tons. To carry all this neither of the ships would need to be above 60 or 70 tons capacity. The Mayflower, which brought 102 persons men, women and children, with supplies and all the furniture for their houses, was a ship of only 180 tons.

according to Captain Vila's estimate, and four days later the cape was still in sight, some leagues to the northeast. During these tedious days the visitador had watched the scarcely moving ship from the top of a hill, with ever-increasing impatience, and when on the evening of the 21st he saw her spread all sail to catch the freshening breeze, and slowly disappear below the horizon toward the southwest, he turned with a prayer that God would prosper her journey, to the work that still lay before him.

The San Antonio did not reach San Bernabé until late in January although she had arrived at Cape Pulmo before the San Carlos left La Paz. She had received her cargo at San Blas, and although she did not seem to be in need of repairs, the visitador had her beached and overhauled, so as to make certain that she lacked nothing that could contribute to her safety. When this had been accomplished she was dispatched northward on the 15th of February, having on board, besides her captain and mate, Miguel del Pino, a crew of twenty-eight men, and Fathers Juan Viscaino and Francisco Gomez. On the same day the little ship San José, which Gálvez had ordered built for the expedition before leaving San Blas, arrived in the harbor, but being in need of repairs, she was ordered to La Paz, whither Gálvez himself returned.

From this time forward the *visitador's* letters breathe a spirit of deep piety, as if the success of the expedition, in his view, depended solely on the missionary part of it. Before the departure of the ships he had

named Saint Joseph as patron of the enterprise,* and he admonished the priests who were to go with it either by sea or by land, as well as Padre Lasuén who was to remain for the present in the peninsula, to say special masses on the 19th of every month in his honor, imploring divine protection through his favor. Writing to Fages soon after the San Antonio sailed, he said: "God seems to reward my only virtue, my faith, for all goes well." Again writing of the expedition, he prayed, "The Lord conduct it prosperously, the undertaking is all His."

The land expeditions now received his earnest and almost undivided attention. The starting of these had been delayed, as that of the ships had been, by unforeseen difficulties against which even his enterprise could not provide. The difficulty of collecting cattle in a region where there was so little water and pasturage, had been great, the selection and packing of church property and other mission contributions had required time, and the forwarding of such provisions and other supplies as had been sent from San Blas to La Paz and Santa María, to go with the land party, had been delayed, while the ships were being dispatched. When the cattle, horses, and other animals were at last collected, it was found necessary to give them time to recruit, and they were sent on to Velicatá, where grass and water were more abundant, for that purpose.

It had been the hope of both the father president and the visitador that the land party would be ready to move early in December, but like the ships it had been

^{*} Because it was supposed that a plague of locusts had been driven away from the neighborhood of Cape San Lucas in 1767 through that saint.

delayed by unforeseen difficulties. It was not until March 24th that it was got ready. Then Portolá, who was now in full command, resolved that it should move in two divisions, one to be commanded by his lieutenant, Rivera y Moncada, and the other by himself. The first must explore the way, open roads and possibly build bridges at difficult crossings, and seek out camping places where there was water and pasturage for the animals. It would have charge of the pack train and the driven cattle, and its progress would necessarily be slow. Father Serra had not yet arrived from the south, where he had been detained in making his final collection of contributions from the missions, and completing other arrangements for his departure. His poisoned leg, probably more than usually inflamed by the exertions he had been making, was giving him renewed trouble. It was not necessary that he, or all the other members of the party should be subjected to the inconvenience of waiting by the way without shelter while the pioneers advanced and returned, or made excursions over the hills or across desert places in search of favorable camping grounds. Besides Gálvez had ordered that a new mission should be founded at Velicatá, as one station in the chain nearer to the new stations farther north. The property with which it was to be endowed, and the missionary who was to have charge of it, Father Miguel de la Campa, had been provided. Father Serra should establish it when he arrived.

So on the afternoon of March 24th the first land division set out on its journey, Father Lasuén, afterwards the efficient head of the missions in California,

giving it a parting blessing. It consisted, besides its commander, of twenty-five soldiers from the presidio at Loreto, Father Crespi, José Cañizares, master's mate of the San Carlos who had been detached for service on land, three muleteers and eleven Indians from the missions. With the governor's party, which did not leave Velicatá until May 15th, having founded the mission at that place on the previous day, went Father Serra, fifteen soldiers under Sergeant José Francisco de Ortega, a servant for the governor, and one for the priest, and fourteen muleteers and Indiansforty-four persons in all. The two land parties therefore comprised one hundred and seventy-eight persons, including Indians. They had with them driven cattle to the number of about two hundred head, thirty-eight horses, one hundred and forty-four pack mules carrying provisions, and such church furniture and other goods as the ships had not taken.

The journey of these two divisions through a hilly and generally barren country was not particularly eventful. From the diaries of Portolá and Fathers Serra and Crespi we learn that they traveled by more or less regular stages, sometimes a little embarrassed by lack of water and pasture, though generally not much inconvenienced. Indians were encountered but rarely at first, and generally these were shy, but later they became more numerous and quite troublesome because of their persistent begging and thieving. Nothing however trifling could be left for a moment without some one to look after it or it would be carried away. They easily induced Father Serra to give them whatever he had that he could spare. One persistently

besought him for his spectacles, which of course he could not part with, and finally when allowed to examine them made off with them and they were recovered with difficulty.

The greatest inconvenience suffered was by Father Serra on account of his sore leg, which had become much inflamed by the exertions he had made before starting. It grew more and more painful when he was compelled to keep to his mule, while the column was in motion, and after some days he suffered so much that he was unable to sleep. Finally observing that one of the mule drivers was accustomed to apply some ointment to the backs of his animals, when their saddles galled them, and that it had a certain healing quality, he asked the man if he could not prescribe something to relieve his misery. The astonished driver replied that his cunning extended only to healing beasts, and he could not guess, more than another, what would relieve the sufferings of a Christian. The father, however, thought that what healed the one would probably help the other, and asked to have the compound of healing herbs and tallow applied to his aching legs. Although the driver demurred at first, he finally yielded, the remedy was applied and a day or two later the good man was able to pursue his journey in comfort.

San Diego, being the nearest port, had been appointed as the rendezvous for the ships and the land parties; and the visitador supposed that he had so planned that all would arrive there at about the same time; but he was grievously disappointed. The San Antonio arrived first, on April 11th, fifty-six days

from Cape San Lucas. Half her crew were disabled with scurvy and two had died. The San Carlos, which had left first, did not arrive until the 29th, and her crew and passengers were in far worse condition. She also had lost two by death and all the others were sick, a majority of both soldiers and sailors being wholly disabled and confined to their beds. Of the twentythree sailors, only four were able to be on deck, and these with the aid of a few soldiers who were still able to be about, had managed the ship during the latter part of its long voyage of one hundred and eight days from the cape. They had had a most tedious and discouraging voyage, and at times they had almost lost hope. Soon after losing sight of land they encountered a strong northwest wind that forced them far out of their course toward the south and west. The ship was violently tossed and beaten by the waves, and at four o'clock on the morning of January 22d, a seaman's leg was broken by the tiller. A caulker also informed the captain during the day that there were three and a half inches of water in the pumps, which caused him no little anxiety. When it was removed, the pumps soon refilled, and to the surprise of all, with fresh water. The casks in the hold, ground together as they had been by the tossing of the ship, were leaking. On examination, two were found quite empty, and two only partly filled. On the 27th the storm increased. At six o'clock in the morning the tiller was broken at the socket, and another was rigged with great difficulty. When the storm had blown itself out on the 30th, Vila's observations showed that he was nearly one hundred miles south and five hundred miles west of the cape.

For the two weeks following, light variable winds alternating with periods of almost calm prevailed, and the ship proceeded slowly toward the north and east. On February 14th the Island of Guadalupe was sighted, and it was not until eight days later that it sank below the southern horizon, so slow was their progress. On the morning of the 24th the mainland was sighted in latitude 30° 30′ north, or less than two hundred miles south of the haven of which they were in search.

They had been at sea forty days; their leaking water casks were nearly empty and must soon be refilled. They accordingly began an anxious search along the shore, first toward the north, the way they wished to go, and then to the south because of adverse winds, for some harbor in which their casks might be replenished. Fog for several days interfered with their observations, and when it lifted for a time, they saw only barren hills and sandy shores, without a sign of watering place or harbor. For twelve anxious days they battled with adverse winds and currents, or with fogs and calms, until March 8th when they were near the island which Ulloa had named Cedros, more than two hundred years earlier. Here their water casks were refilled, though with great difficulty, for nearly all on board were suffering from scurvy and some were wholly disabled. On the first day an anchor was lost, its hawser being cut by the sharp rocks that lay deep in the water, and fearful of losing the others, Vila held the ship as near the shore as possible without anchors, until the casks could be brought off by lighters and placed on board. At this labor Lieutenant Fages and Ensign

Costansó worked steadily with the men, not only by directing and encouraging them, but by helping to fill and lift the barrels, and by laboring at the oars.

At the end of eleven days, the voyage was once more resumed, the ship heading toward the west and northwest; but opposing winds and adverse currents, fogs and calms, baffled the efforts of the scurvy-stricken crew, and at the end of a week Cedros Island was still in sight. Then a freshening breeze came to their relief and the ship sped on her course. On April 3d the Island of Guadalupe, which they had crept past so slowly more than a month earlier, once more came in view, lying to the north and west. Once more they sailed by it, leaving it toward the left instead of the right as before, and again they were more than a week in passing it. Only rarely did the wind favor their progress; frequently it was necessary to tack about from one course to another for a whole day to hold their position. Sometimes they lay becalmed for hours, the ship as helpless as themselves, and moving only as some chance current directed.

The situation of those on board was now growing desperate. All were sick, and many helpless. The few soldiers who were able to leave their berths were helping the four sailors, who were not yet wholly disabled, to furl and unfurl the sails, and manage the tiller. On April 18th a sailor died and his body was consigned to the sea, and on the 24th, pilot Reyes followed him. It was now a hundred and four days since the ship had shaken out her sails on the second day out from La Paz, at the visitador's request, to show her speed, and all the old sailors on the Conception

had "exclaimed constantly in benedictions and praises" saying she was "worthy to be encased in gold." Yet here she was rapidly becoming a charnel ship.

There is an old adage that when things are at their worst they must improve, and so it was with the San Carlos and her company. At six o'clock on the day Reyes was buried, Vila ordered the cross taken to the mainmast. The evening came on with rain, with the sea heavy; next morning the rain continued, but in the afternoon an island was sighted. Toward evening the sky cleared. In the morning the mainland was visible, and the ship was lying in a channel between it and four islands farther south. Far to the north a range of lofty mountains could be seen. Vila's observation showed him to be in a latitude of 33° 15' north; he was in the Santa Barbara Channel, as far north of San Diego as he had been south of it on February 25th.

The ship was now put about, and with a favoring wind moved easily down the coast. With Viscaino's report and Cabrera Bueno's sailing directions before him, Vila easily recognized the principal landmarks of the coast as they were passed—first the easternmost of the Santa Barbara Islands, then the long bare hill which enclosed San Pedro Bay, Santa Catalina, San Clemente, and then far away to the south Los Caronados Islands "the best and surest marks for making the Port of San Diego," at four o'clock on the evening of Saturday, April 29th. One hundred and eight days after he had left Cape San Lucas, the visitador praying that God might speed his journey, he was opposite the entrance of the harbor, inside which the masts of the San Antonio were now visible. An hour later, the wind

favoring, he was inside; the two ships displayed their colors and fired salutes as a greeting after their long separation, and the *San Carlos* dropped anchor; "the anchorage of both ships was just inside Point Guijarros," her voyage at last concluded.

Those on board the San Antonio had done but little as yet to select a landing place, so many of them were sick or wholly disabled, for only the two priests were in good health. The first business was to bury the dead, and then to explore the shores for a good camp to which the sick could be removed; for, confined between decks as most of them were who could not leave their beds, they were extremely uncomfortable. The indomitable Fages and Costansó, the mate Estorace, and the missionary fathers and a few sailors and soldiers were sent on shore for this purpose, and after a day's search, selected a place near the beach beside a stream of good water, where a number of Indian families were camped. During the three or four days succeeding, the ships were moved up to the neighborhood of the spot, and the building of a barricade from the trunks and branches of the bushes and trees growing near by was begun. When finished, tents were set up inside, some cannon were brought for its defense, and the sick were taken on shore. untiring doctor, although suffering from the same malady as they, spared no efforts to lessen their sufferings. He searched the hillsides in all directions for herbs, whose healing powers he knew, for their relief, and to most of them was nurse as well as doctor. But in spite of his ministrations, and of the beneficial effects looked for by their removal from the close confinement on shipboard to the more comfortable shelter and purer air on shore, many died. Funerals were held almost daily and it seemed as if what Gálvez had come to look upon as a sacred undertaking was to have no blessing.

The two ships' captains consulted together as to what they should do in case the land parties did not soon arrive; for as yet there was no word of their coming. Badly disabled as his crew was, Perez had been on the point of leaving for Monterey when the San Carlos arrived. Fearing that she had gone thither without waiting for him he had fixed upon the 30th of April for his departure, and was already beginning to make ready for it, when the San Carlos arrived on the evening of the 29th. No matter how successful the land parties might be in getting through, more supplies would be needed than had been brought, and the possibility of sending one of the ships back for them was carefully considered; for in the two crews there were not well men enough to man even the smaller of them. "I hoped," says Vila in his diary, "to send off one of the two packets, with four or six men—though it seemed foolhardy to think of it." On Wednesday, May 10th, Costansó reported to Vila that only eight of all those who were on shore were able to work. Vila himself was unable to walk and both Captain Perez and Father Parron were ill. The situation was almost desperate.

All looked anxiously for the land divisions. Scouts were sent out to explore the country, make inquiries from the Indians and watch carefully for tracks of their animals. None of these were successful, but on May 14th the Indians brought news that strangers

were approaching from the south, which caused great rejoicing. The few soldiers who were able to do so, discharged their guns, and an answering volley was returned by the marchers, who very soon appeared. These were all in good health, not one of them having been so sick as not to be able to travel during the entire journey. They had suffered only from fear that their supplies might run short, for which reason their rations had been reduced to two tortillas* per man per day. The arrival of so many healthy men among the sick and disheartened sailors and soldiers who had come by sea was like a tonic. There was now no lack of willing hands to help make the sufferers more comfortable. Their camp, which had been fixed close to the shore so that the few who were still able for duty might guard them and the ships at the same time, was now removed about a league to the north, and to the right bank of the river, and placed on the side of a hill of moderate height, where everything was more favorable for their recovery.

On the 29th, Governor Portolá and Padre Junípero with the second land party appeared. All its members were in good health and spirits; none of them had suffered any great inconveniences during the journey, except Padre Junípero, and his sore leg was now notably improved, thanks to the soothing lotion of the muleteer.

The governor at once applied himself to preparations for continuing the journey to Monterey; for discouraging as the situation was at the San Diego rendezvous, he did not by any means justify the abandonment of

^{*} Pancakes.

the enterprise at that point. Portolá was a true soldier in spirit, as well as in training. In his view nothing excused him from the performance of duty, so long as there was possibility of discharging it. There was no doubt of his ability to march as far as Monterey, with a sufficient land party to establish the presidio and mission planned for that point; the only difficulty would be to provide the garrison and the missionaries with sufficient supplies until a ship could be sent them. There was hope that the San José had gone direct to that point, as she had not appeared at San Diego; and all supposed that she had been dispatched from San Lucas soon after the other ships had left, and long before the land parties had started. He had left one hundred and sixty-three mule loads of provisions he had brought by land, and this together with the game the country would afford would more than serve for the journey.

Sick as he was, Vila had by no means given up hope of going to Monterey with the San Carlos. Before Portolá had arrived he had begun to plan for the voyage, and now after consultation it was determined to send the San Antonio back to Mexico with a report to the visitador of the progress so far made, and for fresh supplies; and when possible the San Carlos should go north. The immediate difficulty was to get men enough to send the smaller ship south. Portolá offered to detail sixteen of his soldiers for that purpose but as not one of them knew anything about managing a ship, and as Perez had not one ship's officer left who could direct them about the work, it was impossible to accept them.

The San Antonio was unloaded, with the help of the land party, and then on the 9th of June, with a crew of only eight men, instead of the twenty-eight she had carried on the outward voyage, she was sent away to San Blas with news of what the expedition had accomplished so far. No sailors were now left who were able to go to sea, but it was decided that the San Carlos should sail for Monterey as soon as enough of her crew were sufficiently recovered to man her, and Portolá prepared to set out with the land party.

He was anxious to be off as soon as possible, lest snow might impede his progress in the mountains he expected to have to cross later in the season. There had been snow on the hills back of San Diego when the San Antonio arrived late in April, and the discoverers had reported that the mountains further north were tipped with it when they had seen them. There was no way of knowing what difficulties he might encounter on the way, for the region to be traversed was wholly unexplored. Prudence required that no time be lost, and besides by starting promptly the difficulties of the journey would be lessened and the prospects of success greatly increased.

And first everything was done to make the sick, and those who were to remain with them, as comfortable and as secure as possible. Tents had already been arranged for them within a sort of fortified enclosure, defended by a few small cannon landed from the ships. Enough soldiers were left for a guard, and Dr. Pedro Prat to attend to nursing them, with such assistance as Padres Junípero, Parron, and Viscaino could give. The first named had been anxious to continue the journey, but

was persuaded to remain and go with the San Carlos; and he consoled himself for his disappointment by the reflection that in addition to being of service to the sick, he would be able to attend to the founding of the first mission, an important and pious duty that had perforce been deferred so far.

Ordering Costansó, and Fages with the six soldiers of his company—who alone of his twenty-five, were able to march—to accompany him, and taking also Fathers Crespi and Gomez, with Rivera and as many of the Loreto soldiers as were not required to guard the camp and the supplies left at San Diego, Portolá set forth on the 14th of June. The governor himself rode at the head of the column, accompanied by Ensign Costansó, Lieutenant Fages, the two priests, and the six regular soldiers following. Then came the mission Indians who had accompanied the land parties from the peninsula, with spades, axes, mattocks, and crowbars, as pioneers to clear the way, build bridges when necessary, and prepare the camps. Following these came the long pack trains, divided into four divisions, each with its muleteers, and an adequate guard of soldiers; and Rivera with the rest of his soldiers and some Indians brought up the rear with the spare horses and mules. There was in addition a party of scouts, commanded by Sergeant Ortega, whose duty it was to explore the way one day in advance of the main column, select the route and choose camping places where wood, water, and grass was most abundant, and keep the commander informed of conditions in advance; for when Indians seemed likely to be troublesome or unsociable, or when long marches between camps were

necessary because of lack of grass or water, it was necessary to make special preparations before setting out.

The distance covered each day was usually from two to four leagues,* and the party rested for one day in every four, to give men and animals a chance to recruit, or to care for the sick who became inconveniently numerous as the journey lengthened. Straying or stampeded animals also gave much trouble. Old residents of California who crossed the plains with their own teams in the fifties and sixties, before the railroads were completed, or their children, will not need to be told how frequent and annoying these experiences were. Mules and horses are easily alarmed at night. A frightened bird or rabbit, the sudden appearance of a coyote, or any wild animal, even a deer or antelope, an unusual noise of any kind, even if made by one of the animals themselves, a gust of wind, a prowling Indian, or perhaps even the smell of one, sometimes sent all the animals of a train scurrying away in the darkness, tumbling in their fright into pitfalls or over steep embankments, or scattering over a wide range to be recovered and collected again only with infinite labor. Besides causing delay and much wearisome and unwelcome labor, those stampedes usually resulted in the injury or loss of several animals, which instead of being of service were an additional care to the party until recruited again.

The cavalcade presented a picturesque appearance, as it wound about the hills or stretched away along the

^{*} The Spanish league of 5000 varas, or a little more than two and three-fifths miles.

beach, or through the valleys at the beginning of its march. The Mexican soldier is a good horseman, and where horses were reasonably plenty and cheap, as they were at the missions of the peninsula, he doubtless had a good mount. Trains of mules with their packs, and their muleteer managers, are not yet so rarely to be seen in the mountainous regions, that their appearance cannot be easily imagined. Of the uniform of the Catalan, or regular soldiers, we know nothing, but Costansó has left a description of the arms and armor of Rivera's soldiers, from which an artist may easily depict them. They wore a cuera, or jacket without sleeves, that was at once clothing and armor, being made of six or seven thicknesses of tanned deer skin, and a sure defense against the arrows of the Indians except at very close range. A divided leather apron fastened to the saddle bow, fell down over the thighs and legs to the feet, protecting them against thorns or brambles in riding through thickets, and giving more or less protection both to man and horse in battle. soldier also carried a shield on his left arm, which like that of Roderick Dhu was made of "tough bull hide" of two thicknesses, and when cleverly used would defend both man and horse against arrows and spears. The arms carried were the lance, a sword, and small carbine or musket, in a case. The uniform of the officers was perhaps more showy, as the Spaniard is fond of color; the garb of the friars was the cowled robe of coarse grey or brown material always worn by members of their order; the Indians were on foot, as it was for a long time thought dangerous to allow them to learn to ride, and as in their own country they usually went naked, they probably wore very little clothing.

"The personnel of this party," says Mr. Eldredge,* "contains some of the best known names in California: Portolá, the first governor; Rivera, comandante of California from 1773 to 1777, killed in the Yuma revolt on the Colorado in 1781; Fages, first comandante of California, 1769-1773, governor 1782-1790; Ortega, pathfinder, explorer, discoverer of the Golden Gate, and of Carquinez Strait; lieutenant and brevet captain, comandante of the presidio of San Diego, of Santa Barbara, and of Monterey; founder of the presidio of Santa Barbara and of the missions of San Juan Capistrano and San Buenaventura. Among the rank and file were men whose names were not less known: Amador, who gave his name to Amador County; Juan Bautista Alvarado, grandfather of Governor Alvarado; José Raimundo Carrillo, later alferéz, lieutenant, and captain, comandante of the presidio of Monterey, of Santa Barbara, and of San Diego, and founder of the great Carrillo family; José Antonio Yorba, a sergeant of the Catalonian volunteers, founder of the family of that name, and grantee of the Rancho Santiago de Santa Ana; Pablo de Cota, José Ignacio Oliveras, José Maria Soberanes, and others."

The route followed until the Bay of Monterey was reached was practically that which afterwards became the *Camino Real*, or King's Road. For the first few days the difficulties encountered were not great—water was scarce, and pasturage sometimes scanty on the

^{*} The March of Portolá and the Discovery of the Bay of San Francisco by Zoeth S. Eldredge—The California Promotion Committee, San Francisco, 1909.

hills, but in the valleys grass was usually abundant. Costansó, who was evidently a lover of nature, as well as a scientist of no mean requirements for his time, notes everwhere the character of the soil, the variety of its products, including trees and flowers and sweet smelling plants, mentioning particularly the wild grapes which were abundant near San Diego, and the Castilian rose which Father Junipero had also found growing further south. He appears to have been greatly interested in the Indians, whom he met every day in considerable numbers, and who came to them timidly at first, and then became more familiar than was agreeable. At many places, particularly along the Santa Barbara Channel, they offered an abundance of seeds, acorns, and freshly caught fish. Often more than enough was freely given to supply the needs of the camp. Portolá was always careful to make presents of beads and ribbons and other trifles in return for these attentions, and the Indians were greatly delighted with them. They often begged the travelers by unmistakable signs to remain with them, offering to divide their lands, their houses and their supplies with them. Sometimes a chief or other person of consequence would make a long speech to them, which they could not understand, and which they sometimes excused themselves from listening to, by indicating that they were in haste to go forward. Fathers Crespi and Gomez noted evidences of their docility and hospitality with interest as giving promise of abundant and profitable opportunity for the work they had come to do. They were always watchful for opportunities to offer their priestly ministrations, and rejoiced

accordingly when they were accepted. On July 22d, at a camp between the sites of the future missions of San Luis Rey and San Juan Capistrano, they baptized two dying children whose parents permitted the ceremony without objection, a circumstance that greatly flattered their expectations.

On July 28th, after an easy journey of two hours the party halted near the site of the present town of Santa Ana, and here, soon after their camp was fixed, they were startled by an earthquake shock of great violence, and lasting, according to Portolá's journal, "about half as long as an Ave Maria," and about ten minutes later it was repeated, though not so violently. Two still milder shocks followed. Two days later they were in the San Gabriel Valley, which they called San Miguel, and Portolá noted in his diary that he thought it a good place for a mission. On July 30th the pioneers were required to build a bridge across a deep gully, the first apparently that they had been required to construct, and on the 31st they traversed a valley in which the grass was so luxuriant that "the animals had to jump in order to get through it," says Portolá. On this and the three days following more earthquake shocks occurred. On August 1st, they rested near the site of Los Angeles, and the priests celebrated mass and administered the sacrament to all, in order that they might gain the indulgence of Porciúncula.*

^{*} Porciúncula, Portiúncula, or Porziúncula—name of the town in which Saint Francis took his resolution to adopt the austere life which he afterwards led. While praying in the little church of Our Lady of the Angels—so named it is said because angels were once heard singing there—he had a vision in which Christ appeared to him and granted him authority to found a perpetual indulgence, but upon condition that the pope should confirm it. After some difficulty it was so confirmed by Pope Honorius III, and several of his successors, but for one day in each year, August 2. See Catholic Dictionary.

During the day several of the soldiers asked leave to go hunting for deer and antelope were abundant, and on their return reported having found a great river. This was reached and crossed on the following day when it was named Nuestra Señora de Los Angeles de Porciúncula. At the end of the march, Costansó noted in his diary that "all the country we saw in this day's march appeared to us most suitable for the production of all kinds of grain and fruits."

Here as elsewhere during the last seven days they experienced earthquake shocks, that led some of the party to suspect that there were volcanoes in the mountain ranges ahead of them, and when they came, on the evening of August 3d, to some "swamps of a certain material like pitch, or bitumen," more of them became interested in these speculations. "We debated," says Portolá, "whether this substance, which flows melted from underneath the earth, could occasion so many earthquakes."

Leaving the river they crossed into the San Fernando Valley, where they spent five days. Then by easy journeys they passed the Santa Susana Mountains by the Tapo Cañon, into the valley of the Santa Clara River which they followed to the neighborhood of the ocean. Here they began to meet with the channel Indians, which Costansó thought very much like those Cabrillo had met at the place he named Pueblo de los Canoas. He describes these people, their arts, their homes, their mode of living with evident enthusiasm. The priests also were much interested in them, seeing as they believed a hopeful prospect for the missionary work they were to do. This spot was then, or later,

chosen as the site of San Buenaventura mission, the last of the three for which Gálvez had provided, though it was not actually founded until March, 1782.

From this point they followed the shore of the Santa Barbara Channel on to Point Conception, meeting but few difficulties, and were provided abundantly with food by the Indians at all their camps. On August 18th they came on the present site of Santa Barbara, where the Indians were so numerous and so hospitably inclined that they resumed their march next morning earlier than usual to escape their attentions. Everywhere along this part of their journey the Indians overwhelmed them with their hospitality, tendering them seeds, and fish in such abundance that they might have loaded their animals with them, had they been able to preserve them. They also noted that some of them had a few bits of the steel blades of knives, or broadswords which they used for nothing but to cut fish, so choice were they of them. When asked by signs where they had obtained these they indicated that they had come from the east. It was learned also that their ancestors had been visited, a very long time ago, by men like themselves who had such swords and knives. There could be little doubt that these visitors were the explorers Cabrillo and Ferrelo who had spent so much time there two hundred and seven years earlier.

As they neared Point Conception the road became more difficult. There were deep gullies cut by the winter rains to cross, as well as sand dunes and troublesome hills. On August 26th the pioneers were obliged to work almost incessantly. Turning north they were for a time compelled to go long distances without sufficient water. They crossed the Santa Inez River dry shod on a sand bar that completely closed its mouth, although there was an easily perceptible current a short distance above it, "incontestable proof," says the reflective Costansó, "that the water sinks into the sand, and in this way reaches the sea."

From this point onward, the Indians were less numerous and less aggressively hospitable; the way became more difficult and the pioneers were often busy.

There were sand dunes in places near the sea, and a range of rugged mountains was coming into view, that they doubted not was the Santa Lucia. Spurs of it crossed their path near Point Sal, and forced them inland, through the pass now followed by the Southern Pacific Coast Line. Three leagues beyond Guadalupe Lake, Sergeant Ortega, the pathfinder, was taken ill and some of the soldiers were beginning to complain of sore feet. After a day's rest they reached the San Luis Cañon, and passed through it to the site of the future mission and city of San Luis Obispo.

And now instead of crossing the range directly into the Salinas Valley, they turned toward the west, through a valley in which they encountered some huge bears (probably grizzlies) with which the soldiers had an exciting battle. They killed one after shooting it nine times, and wounded another, which attacked them fiercely, and after wounding two mules, escaped. In memory of this battle they called the place La Cañada de los Osos, the Valley of the Bears.

Pressing forward over sand dunes, high hills and rolling lands, and across gullies and ditches, which kept

the pioneers constantly employed, they found the mountains steadily approached more and more nearly to the ocean, until their path seemed closed by a spur terminating in Mount Mars, which rises three thousand feet almost perpendicularly from the sea. They made camp here and the explorers were sent to find a way, if possible, across the range. Costansó had taken an observation two days before from which he computed the latitude to be 35° 35′. Torquemada's account of Viscaino's voyage, and the sailing directions of Carbrera Bueno, copies of which they had with them and constantly consulted, placed the famous Port of Monterey in 37° north—less than one degree and a half distant. But this lofty wall of rock and mountain intervened. Was it finally to forbid their advance?

Rivera now commanded the explorers, as Ortega was still among the sick, and after an absence of a day and a half returned with the not unwelcome news that a seemingly practicable route had been found, although it would be difficult. The pioneers were set to work on the following morning and at the end of that day had cleared the way for the next day's march. The advance was accordingly resumed on the morning of September 16th, through a steep cañon in which a small stream flowed, which they crossed and recrossed many times, during this and the following day; every member who was able to do so worked to clear the way or help the animals forward. A considerable number were now sick of scurvy, and it was necessary to carry them. This greatly increased the labors of the others, and progress was extremely slow. Only a few very poor and houseless Indians were encountered, who made no trouble and were of no assistance. The cold was very severe as they neared the top of the range and the sick suffered considerably. There also began to be lack of water and forage for the animals, and of space for a comfortable camp. So discouraging were their labors and so wearisome the climb, that when at last the summit was reached, at a point which cannot now be identified, and they were able to see the range, lying ridge on ridge below and beyond them, it "presented but a sad prospect," says Father Crespi, "to us poor weary travelers."

The descent into the Salinas Valley was less difficult, and they reached it on September 26th, having been eleven days in crossing the range. They supposed the river to be the Carmelo as they approached it, as a heavy fog filled the valley making it resemble the ocean. They crossed the river soon after reaching it, and followed its eastern bank for four days, an easy journey compared with the rough work they had in the mountains. The gradually widening valley and the mountains sinking to low hills, cheered them with the confident hope that they were nearing the ocean, and on the evening of September 30th, they pitched their camp at a place where they could hear the welcome sound of waves beating on the shore which they could not yet see.

They now felt certain that they were near the "famous Port of Monterey," which Viscaino had described so enthusiastically as "sheltered from all winds"; where a relief ship with an abundance of food and medicines for the sick would be found waiting for them; where they would found a presidio and a

mission; and where their long journey would end. They could hardly restrain their impatience to see this grand harbor, and their companions who had perhaps come quite recently by the San José, who would be waiting there with news of things that had happened in New Spain and the peninsula long after they had left them.

Only disappointment awaited them. The scouts they sent out to examine the river to its mouth, and bring them news of the appearance of the harbor, returned after a short absence, reporting that the river ended in an estuary entering the land from the ocean; that the shore bordered by sand dunes, extended far toward the north, and toward the south ended in a low hill, covered with trees like pines, and terminated in a point in the sea. They were near a great open bay or gulf, but no harbor was visible.

It was now too late in the afternoon for Costansó, Portolá, or any other officers to make further examination, and the evening passed in speculation as to whether they had not possibly passed the harbor, in the broad detour they had made by crossing the mountains. They were very uneasy. The number of their sick was increasing, and the necessity of carrying them made their situation more difficult. To make further explorations in a mountainous country, like that they had passed after leaving the ocean, seemed almost impossible. The harbor could only be found by keeping near the shore, which seemed to be as mountainous before as behind them. Their supplies were limited; their need for medicines and doctors was great, and unless they met with the expected ship, they might be in danger of actual starvation.

On the morning of October 1st, Costansó and some of the officers crossed the sand dunes to the shore, at a point some distance south of the estuary the scouts had mentioned. They could see the cape at the northern limit of the bay, "extending a considerable distance into the sea," and at a distance as they guessed, of eight maratime leagues; the southern point, which formed the hill of pines, bore southwest by south, and was not so far away. There was no such lofty hill there as Viscaino had described, and it extended from southeast to northwest, instead of from southwest to northeast, as the reports of his voyage represented. It did not appear to enclose either a commodious or wellsheltered harbor, and yet according to the observations which Costansó had repeatedly made, it was very near where Point Pinos and the Harbor of Monterey ought to be.

CHAPTER VI. DISCOVERY OF SAN FRANCISCO BAY



Columbus hoping to find an island had discovered a continent, and as Cortés seeking for a fabled California had found the real one, so these weary travelers, seeking for "a famous port," "sheltered from all winds," that was after all no more than an open gulf or roadstead, were to be rewarded by the discovery of a greater harbor than was then known. All previous discoverers had missed it; some of them had been in its immediate vicinity, and though earnestly seeking had failed to find it. Cabrillo and Ferrelo had passed close by its entrance, though in stormy weather, and under other great disadvantages. Viscaino, confronting failure and attempting to save himself by magnifying an insignificant matter into one of great importance, had allowed a really great discovery to evade him, though seemingly nothing but blindness or accident could have saved him from making it. How many of the Manila galleons, sorely in need of food, water or repairs, and anxiously watching the shore for some indication of such a refuge as it afforded, had failed to find it, we do not know, but doubtless many.

Fate which had long concealed it for a fickle purpose, was now, if not for a fickle purpose, at least in an unexpected way, about to reveal it; for those who were to find it were not seeking it at all, but were looking for a thing they had already found and not recognized.

In his perplexity Portolá called a meeting of his officers on the morning of October 4th, and asked for their advice. The two priests were, by courtesy, invited to attend, though from a military point of view they would have no place in such a consultation;

and the fact they they were invited may be taken as confirming the view that Portolá was one of those self-reliant commanders who, while seeking information from every source, determines all questions for himself. It happened, however, that on this occasion, all were of the same opinion. The conference was opened with the celebration of the mass by the two priests, after which Portolá stated the difficulties which confronted them. Seventeen of the party were sick, or half crippled with scurvy; the season was far advanced, the winter rains had already begun, and the stock of provisions was perceptibly reduced. The extra labor required of all who were able to work, in watching the camp and the animals, exploring the country and attending the sick, was beginning to have its inevitable effect. Under such conditions should the march be continued, and further search made for the port; should they remain where they were for a time, until one of the ships should bring them relief; or should they return and report failure?

After consultation, a vote was taken which showed that all were in favor of further effort. All felt that the time had not yet come to turn back; they could do that later, if their situation got more desperate. There was still hope, as they thought, that the harbor they were seeking lay in advance of them, and that they might find there one of the ships with "the supplies, utensils and munitions necessary for the settlement" they were to make, and without which they could not make it. "It was the only course," says Costansó, and piously adds: "If God willed that in the search we should all perish, we should have performed our duty

toward God and man, laboring together until death, for the success of the undertaking upon which we had been sent"; and Portolá says: "We all agreed that, undoubtedly, we would find the Port of Monterey."

The march was accordingly resumed on the morning of October 2d, the sick being carried on litters laid upon two poles, suspended from the sides of mules, one walking in front of the other; and it may well be guessed that the hospital train thus formed was not managed without difficulty, particularly in the hilly country they were soon to enter.

Ortega had now so far recovered as to be able to resume command of the scouts, and he led their way for some days across the valleys of the Salinas and Pájaro* rivers and nearly parallel with the coast. He encountered more Indians than had been seen for many days previously, and they generally ran away on his appearance, but were soon reassured by the signs of friendship which the scouts had learned to make; by the time the main party came up, they were as agreeable and as hospitable as those of Santa Barbara had been.

The day after the Pájaro was crossed, some of the sick were unable to travel further, and a halt was made for three days on their account, during which the sacrament was administered to some who seemed near death. All the party were beginning to suffer considerably from the cold, particularly at night, and their animals were growing thin and footsore. Three days of rest,

^{*} The stream was given this name by the party because they found the body of a very large eagle near it which the Indians had stuffed with grass. Pájaro means bird.

however, did much to improve the condition of the sick, and refresh the weary animals, and the journey was resumed with new hope.

On October 17th they named and crossed San Lorenzo Creek, near the site of the present city of Santa Cruz, and entered the hill country where Costansó for the first time observed the redwoods. The pioneers were now kept busy clearing the way and building bridges, progress becoming more and more difficult each day. Sometimes they were able to follow the beach for short distances; then when rocks projecting into the sea opposed their progress, they clambered over hills, and crossed narrow valleys in which they found a few Indians, who usually received them hospitably, offering or showing them how to obtain food, for which they were very grateful. The nights grew colder with rain, and all began to be more or less afflicted with bowel troubles. Portolá was scarcely able, for a day or two, to mount his horse. Much anxiety was felt for those suffering with scurvy, but to the surprise of all their condition began to improve, and rapidly. The swelling and contraction of the limbs gradually disappeared, their pains left them, all symptoms of the disease vanished, "their mouths became clean, their gums solid, and their teeth firmly fixed," says the faithful chronicler of the expedition.

By Costansó's reckoning, on October 21st they were in latitude 37° 03'. For several days following he was able to make no observations because of clouds, fogs, and rain. Their advance was very irregular, both because of the weather, and the extreme labor of making roads and bridges. They frequently halted, sometimes for two days together, to rest and recuperate and give the pioneers time to open the way for them. Sometimes wood was not easy to obtain, and then they were forced to use grass for fuel.

Mr. Eldredge and Professor Davidson have identified all their camps between Santa Cruz and the Montara Mountains, and excursionists by the Ocean Shore Railroad, if interested, may find everyone of them without great difficulty. The party was at Año Nuevo Creek on Sunday, October 23d, where they rested after a hard morning's work in which they had advanced only a short league. Año Nuevo Point, which they called Punta de Piedras (Point of Rocks), was easily seen to the southwest. Father Crespi regarded it as marking the most northerly limit of the great Ensenada, which was really the Bay of Monterey that they were so anxiously looking for, though they could not then, or until much later, believe it. It was here than Costansó computed the latitude to be 37° 03'. Father Crespi who also knew how to take observations, made it 37° 22'; it is really 37° 061/2' according to the Coast Survey Reckonings.

After a two days' rest, on account of stormy weather, they moved forward again, part of the way along the beach, and part over level ground, crossing Whitehouse and Gazos creeks, to an Indian camp a short distance east of Pigeon Point, where they rested again on the evening of October 23d. The Indians were very hospitable, offering "seeds kneaded into thick pats" and "some cakes of a certain sweet paste," which the soldiers thought were made from "the honey of wasps," and which Costansó says were "not at all

bad." The houses of the Indians were made of split pine slabs, conical in form, and surrounded a much larger house, "spherical in form and very roomy." The soldiers called it *Casa Grande*, and named their camp for it.

On the morning of the 24th the Indians furnished them with guides, who led them over the rather troublesome hills, and across Frijoles and Pescadero creeks, to San Gregorio Creek, where their next camp was made. Here they remained two days, because all the pack animals were exhausted by the long march of nearly four leagues, and because Captain Rivera was very ill. On the 27th they made only two leagues and camped near some abandoned Indian huts, in which some of the soldiers thought to make themselves comfortable, but soon changed their minds, finding as some of Lewis and Clark's companions did thirty-six years later, in the country further north, that when Indians abandon their homes they usually leave a very large, and very hungry entomological company in possession. On account of this incident the soldiers named this camp La Ranchería de las Pulgas,* though Father Crespi piously called it El Arroyo de San Ibon.

Next day they marched two leagues along the coast, to Half Moon Bay, where wild geese were so numerous that they called their camping place *El Llano de las Ansares*. There was but little firewood near it, and as the weather was cold and stormy everybody was extremely uncomfortable. Both Portolá and Rivera were sick; and so little flour remained—about eight and a half pounds per man—that the daily ration was

^{*} The camp of the fleas.

reduced to five tortillas, in order that some of it might be reserved for the sick. Gloom pervaded the camp. Before them was a high point of land terminating in the sea, which they would have to surmount if they advanced, for about its base were many rocks, and at a short distance, "two Farallones of very irregular figure with peaked tops" rose from the sea. "We did not know what to think," says Costansó. "We were above 37° 20' north, without being certain whether we were distant from, or near Monterey," and without knowing whether it lay before or behind. They began to think of killing their mules for food, but postponed doing this until a time of greater need. They were not yet hungry enough to make mule meat seem palatable. They were now at Half Moon Bay, and the point of land in front of them was Pillar Point of present day maps. One of the two Farallones lying off shore is about one hundred feet high, very sharp-peaked and split from top to bottom.

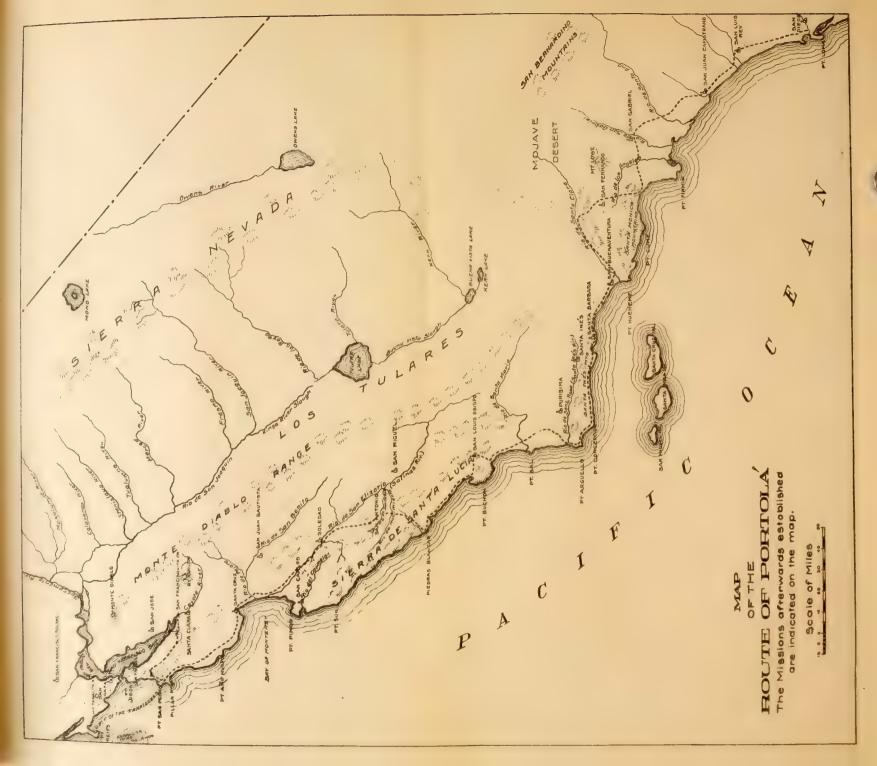
Rain fell all night, and continued to fall on the following morning, so camp was not moved on the 29th; but next morning the indications for a pleasant day were favorable, though the wind blew from the north and was uncomfortably cold. On leaving camp they followed the beach for a considerable distance, and then passed over some hills, and crossed some gulleys which they were compelled to bridge at cost of considerable labor. Their progress was slow and toilsome because of these difficulties, and because so many of the party were disabled. Costansó says they made but one league during the day, though Father Crespi thinks they made two, and Professor Davidson, after examin-

ing the ground and identifying both camping places, prefers the friar's estimate. On this day they saw for the first time, far to the northwest, a lofty promontory which seemed to some of them to be an island. interested them very much, for none of the books they had with them mentioned such an island along that coast, and they talked about it a great deal. Toward noon their view of it was shut off by a lofty flank of the mountain range, which ended in a wall of rock so close to the sea that they could not pass it, and as a small stream ran near its base, and it afforded much protection from the cold north wind, they made an early camp beside it. Ortega and his scouts were sent to find a way over, since they could not go around it, and while they were absent the others found an abundant supply of shell fish near the shore, upon which all feasted heartily. Because of this providential food supply, and because the flank of the mountain made a curved wall in front of them, the soldiers called the place the Rincon de las Almejas, and Padre Crespi named it La Punta del Angel Custodio.

This camp was on Martin's Creek about a mile and a quarter north of the present Montara Point steam fog signal station, and two miles south of the northern extremity of Point San Pedro.

By eleven o'clock next morning the pioneers had made a road up the southern face of the ridge, and the party climbed it without much difficulty. On reaching the summit a grand spectacle lay before them—a great gulf, of which the bold rocky headland, which some had thought an island on the preceding day, formed the northern extremity, and a point near which they stood





its southern, while far to the west seven white rocky islets were seen, marking its division from the ocean on that side. On its northern side, and east of the great headland, were some white and almost perpendicular cliffs, between which there was an opening that seemed to extend far inland. They were looking down upon the Gulf of Farallones; the rocky headland far in the northwest was Point Reyes, and the opening between the white cliffs was Bolinas Bay.

They now turned to their books and found that what lay before them agreed admirably with Cabrera Bueno's description of San Francisco Bay. There could be no mistaking the great rocky face of Point Reyes Head, three miles wide and five hundred and ninety-seven feet high. The depression east of it had made it look like an island on the previous day, but they could now see it was part of the mainland. The opening between the white cliffs still further east was Bolinas Bay,* and back of it the depression between the high hills on either side, extending through to Tomales Bay beyond it. They could not see the Golden Gate and as yet did not guess its existence.

Descending to the shore they fixed their camp on San Pedro Creek where there was good water, grass, and wood in abundance, and here they remained three days. Nearly all were now convinced that they had somehow missed Monterey and that it lay behind them, though some would not believe it. Cabrera Bueno gave the latitude of San Francisco Bay as 38° 30'—a full degree further north than they then were, by their

^{*} Sometimes spelled Ballenas, though improperly, as it was named for the pilot of Cermeño's wrecked ship, who was also a pilot for Viscaino.

latest calculations. To obtain further information Ortega and his scouts were sent on to reconnoiter the shore toward the north, as far as the great headland if possible, and three days were allowed them for this

purpose.

They left after mass was said on the morning of November 1st. While they were absent, further study was given to their own situation, and it was recalled that they had more than once found Cabrera in error in his latitude reckonings. He had placed San Diego in 34° north, whereas their calculations had shown it to be but little above 32° 30'. He had also placed Point Conception in 35° 30' whereas by repeated observations they had proved it to be in 34° 30'. It thus seemed that his errors were all in one direction, as those of Cabrillo had been; and if he had placed these points too far north he had doubtless erred in the same direction with regard to Monterey and San Francisco. So the doubters were silenced.

After mass on the morning of November 2d, which was All Souls' Day, some of the soldiers asked leave to go and hunt for deer, large numbers of which had been seen in the neighborhood of the camp, and permission was readily granted. They climbed the hills to the north and east, and were gone all day, returning late at night with the interesting news that they had seen from the summit, "an immense arm of the sea, or estero, which thrust itself into the land as far as the eye could reach, stretching toward the southwest." They had also seen broad stretches of land, thickly covered with trees, and judging by the smoke from the camp fires of the natives, thickly inhabited. "This report,"

says Father Crespi, "confirmed us more in the opinion that we were in the port of our Father San Francisco," for by referring again to Cabrera Bueno's guide they found this statement: "By the middle of a cliff enters an estero of salt water, without any breakers, and on entering it they met friendly Indians, and easily found fresh water and fire wood." Crespi was convinced, though he perhaps doubted, as others did, when they heard the news brought by Ortega and his scouts. They did not return until night of the following daythe third after they had set forth. As they neared the camp they discharged their guns to give warning of their arrival, and a hint that they were bringing welcome news. The signal was so well understood that many went out to meet them in their anxiety to learn what it was, and were told that they had learned from the Indians—as well as they could understand the signs they made—that "at a distance of two days journey from the place at which they had arrived, which was the end or head of the estero" according to Father Crespi, "there was a port and vessel in it. With this, many now believed we were in Monterey, and that the packet boat San José or San Carlos was waiting for us, and our necessities certainly made us desire it."

So much interest was felt in the supposed news of the supply ship, that neither Portolá, Crespi, nor Costansó made any mention of what Ortega and his party had really found; yet it can hardly be doubted that they had discovered the Golden Gate and the great bay to which it leads.

Because the hunters reported their discovery a whole day before Ortega returned to camp, some writers

have assumed that they saw the bay before he did, but that is hardly possible. Ortega was no laggard in the performance of duty. He left camp a whole day before the hunters started. He had a specific object in view, which was to go to Point Reyes Head, or as near to it as he could go and return within three days. It was clearly visible from the camp, and he would naturally travel as directly toward it as the nature of the ground would permit. The Golden Gate. the existence of which no one then suspected, as they had so far seen no indication of it, was only thirteen miles distant. He had been the scout of the party since leaving Velicatá—except for the few days he was sick, while the party was crossing the Santa Lucia Mountains—and had been accustomed to ride at least three times as far each day as the main party traveled, since he had kept the road explored one day's journey in advance. It traveled from two to four leagues a day, so it may safely be assumed that he and his scouts were accustomed to cover from sixteen to thirty miles. On this trip, which he and all concerned no doubt realized at the outset, would be an arduous one, as the whole distance over which they were to go could be seen by all from the camp, he would set out with the purpose of traveling as far as possible each day. They had nothing to carry but their rations for three days, and all soldiers know that this could not have been a great impediment to their advance. Moreover, they were mounted while the hunters undoubtedly were on foot.

Under such circumstances it can hardly be believed that they did not go as directly as possible toward

the object they were expected to reach, or that they did not cover the whole distance between the camp and Sutro Heights, or even Fort Point, before nightfall of the first day. Point Reyes Head is nearly forty geographic miles from San Pedro Point, and if they did not make at least thirteen miles of that distance before the hunters left camp, twenty-four hours after they had started, there would be but little reason to continue their journey. But if they had not done this, they would still have the advantage of traveling in a fixed direction, while the hunters were wandering among the hills in pursuit of deer, as they doubtless did for a considerable time before reaching the crest from which they first saw the bay. They did not return to camp until after nightfall, although they no doubt hurried back as quickly as possible with the news of their discovery, knowing how eagerly it would be received there, so if we doubt that Ortega reached and discovered the Golden Gate, and the bay into which it leads, we must believe that he was more than a day and a half in going thirteen miles.

But there are other reasons for believing that he and not the hunters first saw the bay, and that he also discovered the strait leading to it. Costansó in his general narrative, written after the journey was completed, and the importance of every incident duly weighed and considered, does not mention the hunters at all. He doubtless would have done so if they had been entitled to any credit, and he would have known whether they were or not. "The explorers," he says, "found their progress stopped by 'immense estuaries." The letter buried at the foot of the cross at Monterey,

as mentioned later, also speaks of "some esteros" as having interfered with their advance. They could not have been stopped by any estuary or estero except the Golden Gate, and not by that unless they had found it. They now knew there was one, and supposed there was another in the great depression at Bolinas Bay, into which they had looked from the Monterey hills.

There is still another and even better reason for believing that Ortega reached the Golden Gate somewhere near its outer entrance. In describing his own first view of the bay, Portolá says: "Before us extended a great arm of the sea, sixteen or twenty leagues in extent, which the pioneers said formed a sheltered port with two islands in the middle." This is equivalent to saying that they had seen the strait opening from the ocean into the bay, for otherwise they would have known nothing of the two islands. These were Alcatraz and Angel Island, and they must have seen the strait if they saw them. They could not see Yerba Buena Island nor had the hunters seen it, for from their point of view they could not have seen much of the bay lying west of Oakland Point, because of intervening hills. Again in a letter written by Father Crespi to Palou, thirteen days after the expedition returned to San Diego, he says: "This very great estero, or arm of the sea has its communication (with the ocean undoubtedly) between some high mountains, and which they say, has three islands, which we could not see from where we were, being on low ground." The low ground here referred to was the last camping place of the main party on the west shore of the bay

near the San Francisquito Creek. From this camp Ortega and his scouts were sent round the head of the bay to explore its eastern side, and during this trip they saw Yerba Buena Island for the first time, with Alcatraz lying beyond it. They now knew that there were three islands instead of two as they had reported, and that they were looking upon landmarks they had previously seen.

Those who would deny Ortega the credit of having discovered the Golden Gate, or even of having seen it, rest their conclusion largely upon the assumption that such a wonderful discovery would have changed all the plans of Portolá and the Spanish government, and upon the fact that not one of the diaries of the expedition mentions it; nor does Ortega, or any of the party, say that he saw Lake Merced, as he would have done had he kept anywhere near the coast on his trips northward. They forget, however, that Ortega was simply a scout, and was not seeking to make discoveries; that he was looking for a practicable road to Point Reyes on this trip, and nothing else-unless he should happen to fall upon the Port of Monterey by the way; that he kept no records and made no reports, except verbal ones to his commander from day to day; and that these reports pertained only to the characteristics of the road the party would have to pass over on the next day's journey, and the supply of grass, wood and water they would or would not find at the next camping place. With these objects, and these only in mind he would report only such things as promised to be a help or a hindrance to what he had in view. Even a thing of so much importance as a broad strait, leading to a great inland sea hitherto unknown, would have been to him only an impassable obstruction, and he would have so reported. Indeed he did so report, and the matter seemed of so little importance to all concerned that it was completely overshadowed in their minds by a matter of no interest at the present time—which was the information that at a distance of only two days' march a long-looked for ship was waiting for them. Threatened, as they thought they were, with starvation, this news if true, meant abundance in place of famine, and means for continuing the search for Monterey which they had long feared they would be compelled to abandon.

They were still more concerned about finding Monterey than about anything else. That was what they had been sent out for, and Portolá was too well trained as a soldier to lose sight of the fact himself, or permit others to do so. He was not concerned about discoveries great or small, except as they might affect what he had to do. The finding of a great harbor, so long as it was not the Harbor of Monterey, was a thing of no special concern to him. He mentions it only incidentally, even after he had seen nearly one-half of it, and had received information that there was another and larger half that he had not seen. He turned aside to visit it only for the purpose of finding a way around it, and in the hope that a supply ship might possibly be waiting for him somewhere in it; and when the soldiers who had been sent out to hunt for the one or the other or both, returned a few days later, he says only that "they found nothing." They had found nothing that concerned the duty he was intent

upon, and therefore nothing of special interest to him; and yet they had found one of the greatest inland harbors in the world—"an exceedingly large and most famous port" as Father Crespi says, "which could not only contain all the navies of his Catholic Majesty, but those of all Europe as well."

Having determined to look for the ship which Ortega supposed the Indians had tried to tell him about, the party resumed its march about one o'clock on the afternoon of November 4th. It was the day of King Carlos III, and of San Carlos de Borromeo, who was to be the patron of the mission they were to found, and the mass was accordingly celebrated with due ceremony before starting. They followed the shore for a short distance north of Point San Pedro, and then turned to cross the hills, reaching the top probably at or near the point where the hunters had made their discovery, and where they also caught their first view of the great bay.

Both Crespi and Costansó assert that they saw it from this point, but neither indicated that they did so with any feeling of exultation. Doubtless their feelings were rather depressed than exalted, since they could not see in it the ship they hoped to find. Portolá does not mention it in his diary until the day following—when they certainly could not have seen it—and it was then he mentioned that the pioneers had said the arm of the sea "formed a sheltered port with two islands in the middle."

They descended the hill during the afternoon, to the bed of a narrow valley lying between a low range of hills on their left, and a much higher one on their right, which they followed during the two succeeding days. This was the Cañada de San Andres, which runs diagonally down the peninsula, and in which are now the San Andres and Crystal Springs reservoirs. The party probably entered this valley, at a point nearly west, or west by south from the present town of Millbrae, and emerged from it on the evening of the 6th, below where the low hills on their left ceased to shut out their view of the bay, and near where the higher ridge on their right curves toward the east and gradually descends to its shore.

Everywhere in the valley they found the hillsides carpeted with grass, affording abundant pasturage for their animals. There were also delightful groves of broad spreading oaks, redwoods and madroños, the latter reminding Father Crespi of his native Spain. Game was abundant, particularly deer, and they saw tracks of other animals that some thought must be The Indians were numerous and very the bison. hospitable, bringing presents of black tomales, and atole, a sort of gruel made of pounded acorns. Some showed great satisfaction and even joy at seeing their strange visitors, urging them to visit their rancherías. Their presents of food were gratefully accepted by the hungry marchers, and repaid by presents of beads and other trinkets, with which all were greatly pleased all of which indicated, to the priests particularly, that they were in a region where it would be well at some future day to found a mission.

When the shore of the bay became visible, but before reaching it, camp was pitched in a pleasant spot, and Ortega and his eight soldiers were sent off to explore THE PALO ALTO—SAN FRANCISQUITO CREEK Site of Portolá's camp of November 6-11, 1769. From "The Beginnings of San Francisco."

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the head of the bay, and as much of its eastern side as they could reach, and return within four days. They started on the 7th and did not return until the evening of the 10th. They found the shore, particularly about the end of the bay, indented by many deep estuaries, which were difficult to cross. Along the eastern side the Indians were very hostile, and inclined to oppose their advance in every way; and they had burned the grass, leaving them no forage for their horses.

How far north the party got on this reconnoissance, it is impossible to say. They were out the full four days allowed them, and Father Crespi in the letter to Palou already referred to, says that Ortega reported that the estero ended some four or five leagues from the camp, and in the middle of the plain beyond it, he had found a large river with its borders covered by trees, and they had much difficulty in crossing it. This was probably the Guadalupe. Beyond this river, and on the opposite side of the bay they had marched "some eight or ten leagues, and there yet remained much to go; and in these said eight leagues they met another very large stream, with a very strong current, and with its banks also well wooded (possibly Alameda Creek) and which has its course through another large plain which was also well covered with trees. This very great estero or arm of the sea, has its communication (with the ocean no doubt) between some high mountains, and which they say has three islands (they had now found the third—Yerba Buena Island), which we could not see being on low ground."*

^{*}Sometimes, though without reason, called Goat Island.

Portolá says of this effort of the scouts, only that "they had found nothing, leaving us in doubt as to whether we could find anything further on"-that is to say they had found no ship and no indications of Monterey or a way to it, the things in which he was then chiefly interested. Costansó says, "they stated that they had not seen any evidence whatever of a port, and that there was another immense estuary to the northeast which extended far inland"; and Crespi, referring to this new estuary says "it was of equal magnitude and extension as the one we have before us, with which it communicates, and to double it, it would be necessary to travel many leagues; that they saw no sign whatever that could indicate to them the proximity of the port that terminates it, and that the sierra was rugged and of bad quality."* So it is plain that they had discovered the northern part of the bay, which would certainly have been regarded as something worth while by people who were not so intently seeking something else.

Another conference of officers and priests was now held to determine what ought to be done, "bearing in mind the service of God, and of the King and our own honor," says Costansó. All were convinced that they were too far north for Monterey, unless some more radical mistake had been made by Viscaino and by Cabrera Bueno than any they had yet discovered, and all wanted to return. They accordingly started backward on the morning of the 11th, over the trail by which they had come, though "endeavoring always to find another road to see if it would be shorter," according to Portolá.

^{*} Diary, November 10.

They were sixteen days on the way to their old camping place on the Salinas. The weather, which had been bright and clear while they were crossing to the bay and returning, turned cloudy and cold after they reached the coast again, and a good deal of rain fell as they traveled south. They lived well, however, feasting on shell fish for a day or two at the Rincon de las Almejas, and on wild geese, of which they killed twenty-two in one day, at the Llano de las Ansares. Later they found geese and larger game abundant near almost every camp, so that while they still feared starvation they were really in no danger of it.

Leaving their camp on the north bank of the Salinas, on the morning of the 27th, they moved up stream for about a league to a point where it could be more easily forded, and then again turned toward the ocean, aiming to reach the Point of Pines near the southern limit of the bay; for they were now determined to explore this great region thoroughly. They appear to have felt reasonably certain that this point was the Punta de las Pinos which Viscaino had described, though from their point of view it did not extend in the direction he had indicated, and the bight of water it sheltered was far from being the capacious harbor he had spoken of so enthusiastically. Moreover they were confused by supposing the Salinas to be the Carmelo—a mistaken notion they had got when they first came upon it after crossing the mountains some weeks earlier. This notion they do not appear to have got rid of even after they had crossed the ridge, and camped on the shore of the real Carmelo, or Carmelo Bay, as they did a day later. In that camp they remained from November 28th until December 10th, as there was abundant grass for the animals, although there were no fish or mussels to be had, and no wild geese such as they had fed upon so abundantly in the Pájaro Valley, only a few days before; they were obliged to content themselves with sea gulls, and pelicans, "to which," Costansó says, "our people gave no truce, for they ate as many as they killed."

There seemed to be no doubt now that the mountain range whose northern end was before them, was the Santa Lucia. At that end of it Viscaino had placed the Carmelo River and Bay, and beyond them the Punta de los Pinos and his "famous bay." The latitude of the latter Cabrera Bueno gave as 37°, and Costansó here made a new observation which gave the latitude of their camp as 36° 36'. The "famous port" should be still further north; but they had twice examined the coast a full degree beyond and had not found it. Toward the south the bold face of the mountain range approached the shore so closely that it hardly seemed possible to pass between them. The prospect of finding a harbor in that direction did not seem encouraging, and yet Portolá determined that search should be made for it, in order that nothing might be left undone for its discovery. Accordingly Rivera with ten soldiers, and six native Indians to act as guides, was sent out on the morning of December 1st, with provisions for several days, to see what could be found. They were absent until the evening of the 4th, when they returned, footsore, weary and hungry, having killed and partly eaten one of their mules during their absence. They had found no harbor, and no indication of one, though they had seen some of the landmarks indicated by Cabrera Bueno—particularly a high white rock jutting out from the coast, and "a headland in the shape of a trumpet, which looks like a rocky islet."*

From the distance traveled by the party during its absence, and the long view of the coast they had been able to obtain from the point where they had turned back, it seemed certain that no "famous port" could lie hidden between their camp and the point where they had left the coast on their outward journey. Where then was Monterey, with its harbor "sheltered from all winds"; its hills covered with pines fit for the king's greatest ships; its pleasant glades, shadowed by broad spreading live oaks; its waters abounding in fish of many eatable varieties; and its numerous heathen, so gentle and so hospitable, and apparently so willing to embrace the true faith? "We know not what to think," writes Costansó gloomily in his journal, "in view of what we have experienced in the search for a port so famous as that of Monterey; made so celebrated by men of character, skillful, intelligent and practical navigators. Is it reasonable to suppose that the port has been closed and destroyed by time, tide and weather?"

^{*} This, according to Professor Davidson, was "The Sur" 358 feet high, and thirteen and a half miles below Point Carmelo; and "the high white rock" was the conical rock 134 feet high just north of Cape Martin. He thinks this party reached Pfeffer Point, six and a half miles south of the sur, from which he says, this rock can probably be seen. The mountains here almost overhang the ocean, and the United States topographers found it impracticable to reach the shore line directly. Cone Peak rises to a height of 5000 feet only two and three-quarters miles from the sea.

The idea that the "famous harbor" had been filled up by the winds and the action of the sea had now taken strong hold on all members of the party. In no other way could they acount for their inability to find it. Both Costansó and Crespi reviewed their reckonings, and compared them again with those given by Torquemada and Cabrera, making due allowance for the errors they had made because of their inferior instruments, but all to no purpose. Their error had generally been uniform, and in one direction. They knew about what it was, and if they knew exactly what it was it would not have helped them. Therefore says Costansó "we will say positively that the Port of Monterey does not exist in the latitude indicated in the old sailing directions; nor between 37° as far north as 37° 44', in which we believe, lies the Punta de los Reyes. Neither is this port south of the parallel 37°, either in the Sierra de Santa Lucia or out of it, for having examined the whole coast, step by step, we have not the least fear that it may have escaped our diligence and search."

There was therefore no possible solution of the puzzle except upon the hypothesis that the port had been mysteriously filled up, and all sign of it obliterated.

Once more Portolá called a council. He had been considering the advisability of dividing the party, sending one-half back to San Diego to report the extremity in which they were, while the others should remain until the San José should arrive, or relief could be sent by the San Carlos. This would expose both to new dangers because of their weakness; those who remained might starve, or be murdered by the Indians

who, although few were disposed to be hostile. Nevertheless Crespi and Gomez very readily (con mucho gusto) offered to stay and brave whatever dangers they might meet.

Father Crespi asked that all might be present at the celebration of the mass on the morning of the 6th, and after the ceremony the council assembled. As before, the comandante reviewed the difficulties of their situation. A cold wind had blown from the north for two days, after they reached this camp, and when it changed rain followed. Snow was beginning to appear on the mountains; evidently the winter was to be dreaded. Their provisions were now nearly exhausted; only a little flour remained. The Indians could not be depended on for help, and if they waited until the snow closed the mountain passes all might possibly starve.

Notwithstanding the gloominess of the situation there were some who favored remaining where they were until their provisions should be exhausted, hoping that the expected ship would come to their relief, or willing to face whatever fate might have in store for them if it failed. They would even eat their mules if it became necessary.

There was no decision reached at the first meeting, and when they assembled again on the morning of the 7th Portolá had determined the matter for himself, and all present were directed to prepare for the return. A very violent storm prevented anything being done on this day, or that following; and by the morning of the 10th it had been determined to erect a memorial of their visit, which would be seen by anyone who

should come to the bay, particularly if he should come with the ship sent for their relief. A large wooden cross was prepared and set up near their camp on the shore of the bay, and carved in it was the legend, "Dig! At the foot thou wilt find a writing."

The writing was a brief statement of the nature of the expedition and its objects; the story of its advance from San Diego to a point farther north where Point Reves could be seen, and of the failure to reach it because of the "immense estuaries" encountered, and lack of provisions; of the return and further search for the Port of Monterey; its despairing failure, and the date on which the party had started for San Diego, concluding with: "Pray though Almighty God to guide it, and, sailor, may his Divine Providence take thee to a port of safety." To it was added a postscript giving the various reckonings of latitude made by Costansó during the journey, and a request to the commander of the San Carlos or the San José, if they should find the writing, to sail as close to the shore as they could with safety on their return, in the hope that their suffering comrades on shore might sight them, and so obtain the relief of which they were likely to be in sore need.

So having planted this cross and left this writing hidden at the foot of it, almost on the very spot they had so long and so arduously sought and twice found without recognizing it; the spot on which they had come so far to plant a mission and a presidio to defend and save the country for their king, they resumed their journey over the trail by which they had come, almost despairing that they would ever reach its end.

It will seem strange to present day readers that these first explorers of California should have thought themselves so helpless because the provisions they had brought with them were running short. They were in a country where game was generally abundant. Even in the short stages where they had experienced lack of it on the outward journey, they had found plenty just before and again just afterwards. Wherever they had found Indians—or nearly everywhere—they had found them generally well supplied and quite willing to share with them. Even where they were least numerous, and least able to provide for them, they were more or less inclined to be hospitable. They had found no place, except while crossing the mountains, where they could not, with a very little more effort than they had made, have procured better and more healthful food than they carried, and in sufficient quantity to supply them while crossing more barren places. They knew now where they would encounter such places, and with the exercise of prudence and a little forethought, it would seem that they ought to have felt confident that they need not starve, or even suffer any considerable inconvenience.

Thirty-six years later Lewis and Clark crossed the entire continent in its widest part, taking with them supplies for only a very small part of the journey, and knowing that they must subsist upon the country. They crossed wide stretches of far more barren ground than any of these Spaniards encountered, and at times ate food that Portolá's party would not have thought eatable, but they rarely went hungry and few of them were sick even for a day during the two years they were

absent. During the succeeding fifty years hundreds, and possibly thousands of hunting and trapping parties subsisted themselves in the great interior region of mountain and plain, for months together, without special inconvenience. It may be said that all these were supplied with better weapons, and that they were better hunters than the Spaniards were, which is true; but all plainsmen learned that game, in regions where it had been hunted only by Indians with their bows and arrows, was not difficult to kill with almost any sort of weapon that civilized man was accustomed to use. Even the settlers, some of whom knew as little about hunting, and were as poorly provided for it as they could well be, managed on more than one occasion, to procure food for themselves and families, under most trying circumstances, and in places where game was anything but abundant; learning, when forced to do so, that nature nearly everywhere provides enough to save the lives of those who will use such means as they may to procure it.

The helplessness of these Spaniards was but an evidence of the effect a government which assumes to do more than it ought may have upon its people.

If Portolá had divided his party, as he at one time thought of doing,* both would probably have starved. Certainly those who remained at Monterey would have suffered greatly unless the Indians—most of whom had gone somewhere else for the winter months—had returned and taken pity on them; for the San José never arrived there, or elsewhere on the coast, so far as known. That luckless vessel, which Gálvez sent

^{*} Crespi's diary quoted by Professor Davidson.

from San Lucas to La Paz for repairs, after he had sent away the other two ships, had a strange and useless history. After reaching La Paz she made one trip across the gulf, and brought back a cargo of supplies to Loreto, whence she sailed for San Diego in June. She was to have taken Father Murguía and some church ornaments on board at San José del Cabo, but did not touch there. Three months later she returned again to Loreto with a broken mast, and was sent to San Blas for repairs. These were not completed until the beginning of the following year, when she once more sailed for San Diego, having on board a crew for the San Carlos which was still there, but she was never again heard from. Whether she was wrecked on some rockbound shore, or lay becalmed in some tropical sea until all on board died of scurvy, will never be known until all things are known.

Many years later the early settlers of Oregon found on the sand dunes near the mouth of the Nehalem River, quantities of a partially decomposed substance that looked like paraffine, or beeswax, which is supposed to have once been part of the cargo of a wrecked ship. Some of it appears to have been in cakes weighing several pounds, and some in rolls like large candles which seem to have once had wicks. On some the letters I. H. S. or something very like them, are still traceable. No part of the ship or anything that would indicate what her name was, when she was wrecked, whence she came or where she was going, has ever been found, and she is now remembered only as the "Beeswax Ship." As the San José carried some church

supplies among which may have been candles as part of her cargo, it has been guessed that she may have found rest at last on this sand blown beach.

After they had planted the cross at Carmelo, as above described the party broke camp and crossed over the pine-covered ridge to the shore of Monterey Bay, where another cross was set up, with a less elaborate inscription announcing their depature for the south. They camped here for the night, and then on the morning of December 11th, turning their backs upon the harbor they had so long sought and now found, but did not recognize, returned to the valley of the Salinas. Following generally the trail by which they had come, their progress was more rapid than their advance had been; and as they knew in advance the difficulties they would have to encounter each day, they were able to prepare for them, so the whole journey was made without inconvenience. They left the Salinas, at the point where they had first come upon it, which Professor Davidson thinks was three or four miles south of the San Lorenzo-and crossed to Jolon Creek by the pass which was used later by the stage line between Monterey and Los Angeles; thence across San Antonio Creek and the ridge beyond it, to the winding Nacimiento from which they again crossed to the San Carpoforo, which they followed to the ocean. There was snow on these ridges, and rain and slush in the valleys, from which they suffered some discomfort. Few Indians were encountered, game was not abundant and they killed some of their mules for food, though they did not find their flesh very palatable. Some of

the soldiers were caught stealing flour, and the remainder of the stock was divided so that each might have his share and do as he pleased with it.

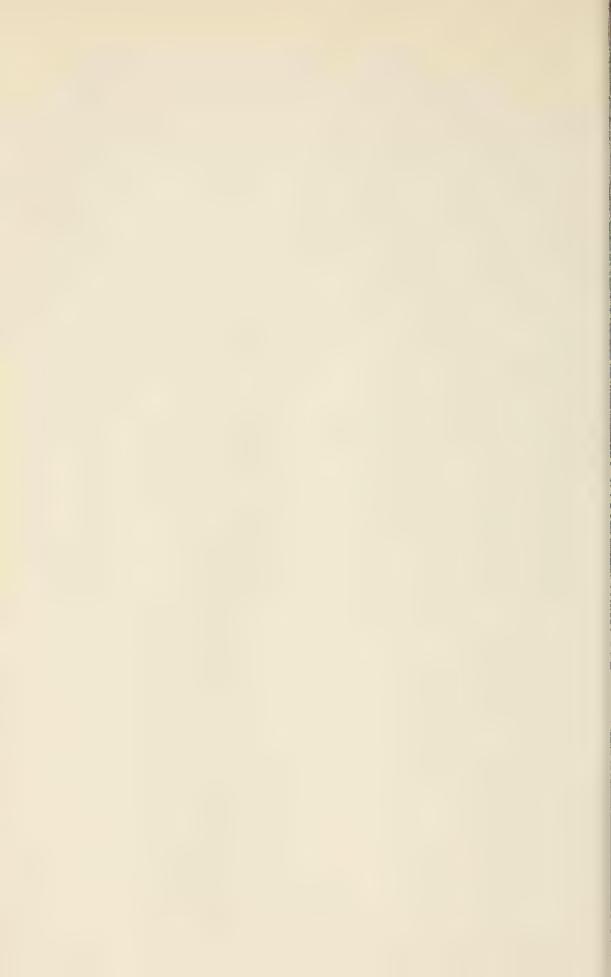
On reaching the coast they met with Indians again, who as before, willingly supplied them with such food as they had. In one of their camps they found a mulatto muleteer who, with a companion, had deserted at Carmelo Bay. He had been nearly starved, and was so lame he could hardly walk; his companion had been even worse off when he had last seen him. He had followed the shore from Carmelo to the point where he was found, and was able to assert positively that there was no Port of Monterey, nor even a cove or inlet of any sort, in the solid wall of mountain which fronted the sea throughout the whole distance. "This information" says Portolá, "entirely removed the doubt which no one now entertained, that the port might be there."

Along the coast traveling was easy; they even found ways to avoid some of the places that had given them trouble on the outward journey. Food was abundant and the weather agreeable—so agreeable that Portolá, who rarely mentions anything in his diary but the distance traveled, the place and character of the camp, etc., takes occasion to remark that all the time they were passing along the Santa Barbara Channel they "experienced a very genial temperature and almost heat," although the season was midwinter. They reached San Diego, January 24th, having been gone six months and ten days. Most of the party were in better health when they returned than when they started, and they had not lost a man by death.

All who have left a written record of this journey, lament their failure to find the Port of Monterey; no one of them boasts of their discovery of a far greater harbor. In letters subsequently written some of them, particularly Ortega and Crespi, mention it admiringly but rather as an obstacle which defeated the object they were seeking, than as a discovery of which they were proud. In view of the two-fold object of the expedition—which was to found a mission where Indians were supposed to be numerous and docile, and a presidio at the harbor farthest north, to defend the king's possessions against possible incursions and settlements by other powers—all this seemed surprising. That the harbor they discovered was farther north, and a far better one than that of Monterey had been supposed to be, even from Viscaino's exuberant description, was easily apparent; there was therefore greater danger the representatives of some foreign power would be tempted to take possession of it. Duty would seem to demand that they should take and keep possession of it, and explore it to its furthest limit, now that they had found it. It was vastly more important to do this than to do what they had been sent to do at Monterey, even if they knew where it was, and had found it to be all that Viscaino had represented. From the mission point of view, also, there was every reason to prefer San Francisco to Monterey. The Indians there were numerous, well disposed, and well supplied with provisions. They were living in a fruitful region. Father Crespi exultantly praises it. "The land is all very good, and of a substance that could not be bettered," he says. They had seen few Indians near Monterey, and there were still fewer there on their return, as they had gone elsewhere for the season, and the few they did find were not particularly hospitable.

His rapidly diminishing supply of provisions was no doubt an important factor in fixing Portolá's determination to retreat, as he says it was. Fear that the relief ship might not find them in the interior bay, or that they might not find means of signaling it from the outer shore in case it should come so far north, would also have weighed with him. Yet after giving all these adverse circumstances due weight, we can scarcely imagine an English colony turning away from such an opportunity; nor can we fancy such missionaries as Brébeuf, Jogues, Menard, De Smet or Marquette closing their eyes to such tempting fields for their labors; and when we remember that both Fathers Crespi and Gomez were later willing to remain at Carmelo, where Indians were so few and not over friendly, and the prospects of finding subsistence very gloomy, we can only account for the course they pursued by their life-long habit of depending on government to direct them in things spiritual as well as things secular, while Portolá's course was shaped by a too rigid regard for his instructions.

The expedition had achieved a most notable success; yet all its members felt disappointed and discouraged by what they supposed to be a most unfortunate failure.



CHAPTER VII.

THE FIRST PRESIDIO AND MISSIONS FOUNDED



THE explorers were received at San Diego with great rejoicing. They approached it with many misgivings, remembering the plight in which they had left their comrades who had remained there. When some miles away they saw tracks of men and horses in the sand, which gave assurance that some of the party were still alive, and as they neared the palisade they began to discharge their guns to give them notice of their arrival. When the reports were heard at the camp those who were able to do so, ran out to meet and greet them, with demonstrations of joy; but some would greet them no more in this world forever. "All those we had left sick in their beds," says Costansó, "God had taken to himself." These numbered fully half the party, which had consisted of Fathers Junípero, Viscaino and Parron, Captain Vila, and Pilot Cañizares, eight soldiers of the presidio, and fourteen of the Catalan company, five able seamen, and some other sailors, the carpenter, the blacksmith, three boys, eight lower California Indians, and last but not least the indefatigable doctor, Don Pedro Prat. Fathers Junípero and Parron were among the convalescents, both having suffered, like all the others, from the scurvy.

Sick and almost helpless as the members of this disconsolate party had been, they had not been idle. Those who were least afflicted helped to nurse those who were more helpless, and performed the more melancholy duty of burying the dead; while the priests, called upon as they almost constantly were for a time, to minister to the dying, did not lose hope for, or forget, the work they had come so far to do. The long

train of the explorers had scarcely passed out of view on its northward journey, before they began to make preparations to found the first mission in Alta California. They chose for this ceremony Sunday, July 16th, the day of Our Lady of Mont Carmel, and also that of the Triumph of the Holy Cross—the anniversary of a great victory won by the Spaniards over the Moors in 1212.

The site selected was on the north shore of the bay, opposite what was then supposed to be the best anchorage for ships, and in what is now known as Old Town. There is no record to tell us what the ceremonies were, but we may guess that they consisted most, or wholly, of such offices of the church as would be considered indispensable on an occasion of so much importance. A cross, symbol of peculiar veneration from the beginning of history, and of specially sacred significance to the Christian world, would be prepared, set up and adored, after it and the ground on which it was to stand had been blessed and sprinkled with holy water. the mass would be celebrated—probably chanted and a sermon by the father presidente would follow. Perhaps the few soldiers who could hold their guns, with their swollen hands, would fire a volley in lieu of music, and the exercise would conclude with the salutation of the image of the virgin, and some effort to chant the Te This, though in much more elaborate form, was the religious ceremony afterwards performed when a mission was founded.

As rapidly as possible during the succeeding weeks, huts were built of logs and thatched with tules, and one of them was set apart and dedicated as a chapel. The missionaries then redoubled their efforts to attract the Indians to the place, and interest them in what was to be done for them, but they were strangely suspicious of all the advances made, and kept aloof. The Indians brought from lower California were used to encourage them to come in and join in the religious services, but all to no purpose. They accepted all the beads and trinkets offered, but would touch no food. Even the most savory dishes that could be prepared did not tempt them. Sugar was offered them and even put in the mouths of some of the children, but they quickly spat it out as if it were poison.

This conduct has been accounted for on the theory that they suspected that the pitiable condition in which they saw their visitors, was caused by the food they ate. The swollen hands and limbs, and bloated faces and lips of those worst afflicted, would doubtless suggest poison to their untutored minds, and if so it is not surprising that they were cautious. It was perhaps for the same reason also that they long refused to accept baptism. The priests were particularly urgent in their efforts to induce them to receive this rite, but not one of them would do so. A picture of the virgin and child was shown them, in the hope that some happy result might follow; but while they seemed to admire it, and some of the women were so much impressed that they offered their breasts to the babe, not one would offer her own babe for the lustration. When after much persuasion one of them seemed about to yield, and Padre Junípero, was making ready for the rite, she snatched the babe from him and ran away with it, much to the good man's sorrow. It is said that he never afterwards spoke of the incident without tears.

But while they refused food and baptism they were keenly eager to get clothing. They accepted all that was offered, and soon began to help themselves to what was not offered. They lost no opportunity to seize upon and make away with everything of the kind incautiously left within their reach. The garments of the sick, and even some of the blankets on which they lay were taken, and those who were not kept to their beds were required to watch even what they wore to prevent the pilferers from stealing it. They invaded the ships as well as the huts and tents, and it became necessary to post guards everywhere, both day and night; and so few of the soldiers, sailors or mission Indians were able to perform this duty that it became very burdensome on those who were. An effort was made to frighten the marauders away by discharging the muskets and cannon, but they only laughed at the harmless noise, and grew bolder than ever.

Real resistance finally became necessary. The soldiers on guard saw, or thought they saw evidence that a raid was imminent, and fired on their tormentors. Some were killed by the first discharge and some wounded. The others returned the fire with a flight of arrows. A short but sharp battle followed; three Indians and one Spaniard were killed, and a number wounded on both sides. Among the latter was Father Viscaino, who was sitting in a hut with Father Junípero when the battle began, they having just concluded the service of the mass for the day. Hearing the firing,

he drew aside the flap of the tent to discover the cause of it, and received an arrow in his hand, or wrist, as he did so. The man killed was his servant, or had been attending him as such. The blacksmith, whose name is not remembered, unfortunately, is reported to have particularly distinguished himself in this skirmish, laying about him with such weapons as were at hand, and with such vigor as to command not only the applause of his associates, but the respect and admiration of all his assailants who survived his blows.

Some time after the battle the Indians brought their wounded to the camp for treatment, showing a willingness to test the white man's healing powers so far as their bodies were concerned, though continuing obstinate as to the cure of souls offered. A whole year passed and not a convert was made, although the good fathers labored diligently, ministering to the sick and by every means seeking to gain the good will, and awaken the interest of the natives in their teachings. At no other place in all the history of Catholic missionary work on the continent, was the reward of early work so long withheld.

For a long time after the battle no Indians were allowed to come near the camp with arms in their hands. As rapidly as possible a stockade was built, enclosing the whole camp and the chapel, but a guard was always maintained both on the ship and on shore until the exploring party returned.

The situation which now confronted the party, was most discouraging. The San Antonio had not returned, nor had the San José been heard from; there were not sailors enough to man the San Carlos, and she could

not be moved from her moorings either to make another effort to find Monterey, or to return to San Blas. The provisions on hand would last only for a few weeks at most, and then all must starve unless help came, or they must abandon the enterprise and return to Loreto. Portolá prudently began to prepare for the worst. Rivera with most of the soldiers who were in good health was dispatched to Velicatá on February 10th, to get the cattle which had been left there, and such other supplies as he could collect, and return with them. If in the meantime relief came, whatever he brought would help to stock the missions, or be added to the general supply; if it did not come, and retreat by land became necessary, he would meet the party on the way. By thus reducing the number of the party, and arranging for its relief on the retreat, its stay at San Diego could be considerably prolonged.

A careful inventory of the supplies was now made, and after putting aside a portion for the retreat, should it become necessary, it was found that the remainder would not last much beyond the middle of March. It was decided that unless help came the retreat would begin on the 20th of that month at the latest.

The priests, particularly Fathers Junípero and Crespi, opposed this decision, as resolutely as they could. They could not consent that all that had been done should be sacrificed, without return from it. They remembered the multitudes of Indians that one of them had seen along the Santa Barbara Channel and farther north, and the willingness they had apparently shown to accept their ministrations, and resolved not

to turn back without still further effort to reach them. They appealed to Captain Vila to allow them to remain with him on his ship, when the others departed, and then applied themselves to their last resource—their prayers. The 19th would be the day of Saint Joseph, patron of the expedition. Possibly the commander had fixed upon the 20th for departure hoping for some special manifestation of that saint's good will, or influence, on his anniversary. Whether this was the case or not, special preparations were made to honor the day with elaborate ceremonies. A novena* was to precede it, and the day itself devoted to special masses. Meantime the anxious fathers scanned the broad ocean hourly for some sign of the hoped for ships. No "ship-wrecked sailor watching for a sail" ever watched more eagerly, or prayed for its appearance more fervently; but days came and went, with "no sail from day to day." The 19th was celebrated with the mass and many prayers, and at evening, between sunset and dark, some of the party thought they saw a sail on the horizon, but no ship appeared that night nor during the three days following. For some reason the retreat was not begun as planned. Perhaps the anxious commander found his stock of provisions had not been depleted as rapidly as he had expected; perhaps he felt that his stay might safely be prolonged for some other reason; or possibly he thought that duty required him to wait till the last possible moment, and see if a ship would really appear to confirm the report that a sail had been seen. At any rate he waited, and on the 23d a ship was really seen on the

^{*} Nine days of prayer addressed to a particular saint.

northwestern horizon. As it approached the harbor it was seen to be the San Antonio, and the failure of the expedition was averted.

When she came to anchor in the harbor it was learned that she had passed northward only a few days before, expecting to go direct to Monterey, but had touched at Santa Barbara to obtain water, and had there learned from the Indians that the land party had returned. Her passage up the coast had been a most stormy and eventful one, and her arrival at this opportune time seemed providential.

A fresh attempt to find Monterey, and locate the presidio and mission was now possible, and Portolá immediately prepared for it. A party should go by land as before, although fewer soldiers were available for it, as so many were absent with Rivera; and the ship should meet them at the cross erected near Point Pinos. As the way was now known, the land party would probably be able to travel as fast as the ship, and both were to start about the same time.

The ship put to sea on April 16th and the land party, headed by Portolá, as before, left on the 17th. With him went Father Crespi and Captain Fages and twenty soldiers. With the ship went the father presidente, Engineer Costansó, and Doctor Prat.

The land party reached the rendezvous agreed upon on May 24th; the ship—having encountered stormy weather which drove it as far south as the thirtieth parallel, and then north to the Gulf of the Farallones—did not come to anchor near the point until the 31st.

The land party found the second cross which they had erected standing, as they had left it, and lying

about its base were numerous contributions of fish, seeds, meat and clams which the Indians had placed there, the whole being surrounded with arrows thrust in the ground, points downward. Later when, under the tutelage of the missionaries, they had learned enough Spanish, or the fathers enough of the Indian language to make some conversation possible, they explained that they had noticed that their visitors regarded this symbol with particular favor. Some of them wore small ornaments made of metal in the same form, and they readily guessed it to be a symbol used in the worship of their deity. They wished to be at peace with them and their deity, and therefore had made these contributions to express their good will. They are said also to have reported that this wooden cross had seemed to grow larger as they watched it, particularly at night, and that rays of light were sometimes seen illuminating it like a halo. This would be a not unlikely product of the lively imagination of the savage, particularly as he remembered it in connection with the religious teaching he afterward received. It is quite easy for civilized eyes to be deceived by objects in the dark, or gradually diminishing twilight. Looking out from the shadow of the trees in which his camp was, at this cross standing black against the sky, or sea, beyond it, quite possibly it did seem to grow larger. The halo is not so easy to account for in this age and generation, except as a thing told to please those who listen.

As Portolá and Crespi, accompanied by Fages and a single soldier were returning from the cross to the camp, they turned to look out over the bay, eagerly hoping to see some sign of the ship they were expecting. The day was clear and bright, and they could see the whole shore distinctly as far as point Año Nuevo. Some whales were spouting in the bay, but otherwise its waters were undisturbed. The prospect was a pleasing one, and they strolled leisurely along the beach, saying but little as they went, in order that they might the more thoroughly admire it. Suddenly, as they walked, all seemed to note at once that the bay was "like a great round lagoon," says Father Crespi, and they broke forth with one voice, "this is the Port of Monterey which we have sought; it is exactly as reported by Viscaino and Cabrera Bueno." The Bay of Monterey was found at last.

Having made this discovery it was easy to identify the other objects which the Carmelite friars who accompanied the discoverers had described—the tall pines fit to be the masts of any ship, the spreading oaks, the lagoons, and particularly the little stream and the great tree whose branches dipped down to it, under which the first mass had been said there so many years ago. There could be no possible doubt about it now; the presidio and mission could be founded exactly as the visitador had directed, and this should be done as soon as the San Antonio arrived.

As the water near their camp was not as good as they remembered that at Carmelo to have been, and as they did not then know how long they might have to wait for the ship, the camp was moved across the ridge to the neighborhood of the first cross. This like the other was found undisturbed as they had left it—with its message still concealed at its base.

PORT OF MONTEREY IN 1840 Reproduced from DE Mofras' Atlas for "The Beginnings of San Francisco."

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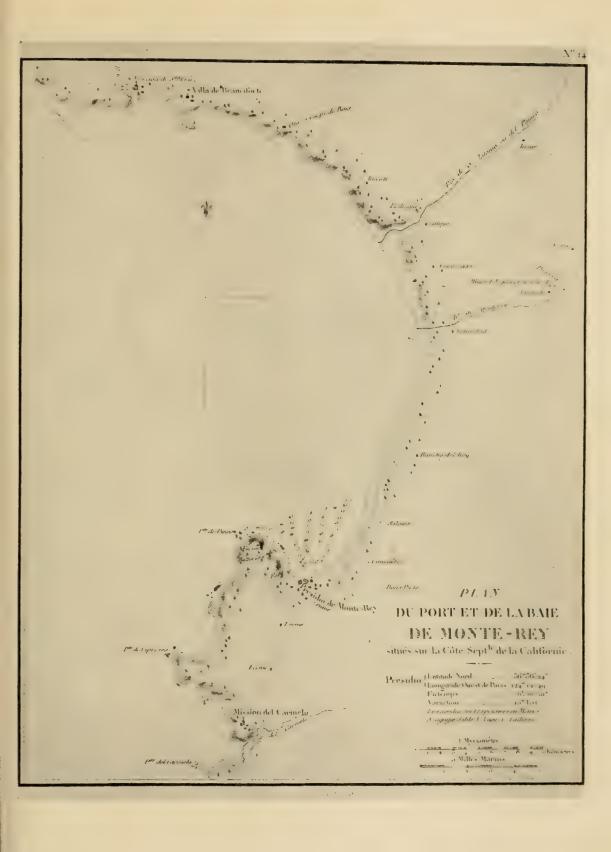
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They did not have to wait long at this new camp. On the afternoon of the 31st the San Antonio was sighted, and a few hours later fired a salute and came to anchor, probably not far from the spot where Viscaino's ships had rested a hundred and sixty-eight years earlier. The shore party were waiting to receive those on the ship and soon all were happily reunited.

Preparations were speedily begun for the ceremonies they were to perform. Under the same oak where mass had been celebrated by the discoverers, an altar was set up and surrounded with an enclosure, to form a chapel, built of such materials as were most convenient. The bells which the ship had brought for the mission were landed, and temporarily swung, and on the morning of the feast of Pentecost, June 3, 1770, their music was heard for the first time reverberating among the hills and groves, and across the placid waters of the Bay of Monterey. Those same bells still hang in the arches, now grown venerable, of the deserted mission of San Carlos Borromeo, at Carmelo, though their music no longer summons the neophytes to their prayers, or the priests to their masses; and is heard only when some curious stranger climbs the crumbling stairway leading to the belfry, to call back a voice from the long ago, by a gentle pull at the rope so rarely used.

The ceremony of founding a mission in the wilderness was probably always much the same. The best account of this one that has come down to us was written by Padre Crespi for those who would know generally what took place, and is far less detailed than could be wished. The flag of the ship was brought on

shore and all the members of both parties, including the Indians, attended, except a few sailors who were left on the ship to discharge the cannon at the proper time. A larger cross than either of those earlier erected, had been prepared, and when all were assembled, Padre Crespi says "the Fray Presidente vested with alb and stole, all kneeling, then implored the assistance of the Holy Ghost (whose coming upon the small assembly of the apostles and disciples of the Lord the Universal Church celebrated that day), and sang the hymn of the day, the Veni Creator Spiritus. Thereupon he blessed the water and with it the great cross, which had been constructed, and which all helped to raise and place in position, and then venerated. He then sprinkled the whole surroundings and the shore with holy water, in order to drive away all infernal enemies. Thereupon High Mass was commenced at the altar upon which stood the image of Our Lady, which through the inspector general, the Most Reverend Francisco de Lorenzana, Archbishop of Mexico, had donated for the expedition to Monterey. This first holy Mass was sung by the said Fray Presidente, who also preached after the Gospel, whilst repeated salutes from the cannons of the bark and volleys from the muskets and firearms supplied the lack of musical instruments. At the close of the holy Mass the Salve Regina was sung before the lovely statue of Our Lady, and then the whole ceremony concluded with the Te Deum Laudamus.

"When this function of the Church was finished," the good father continues, "the commander took formal possession of the land, in the name of our King, Don Carlos III (whom God preserve), by raising anew the royal standard which had already been unfolded after the erection of the cross. Then followed the customary ceremonies of uprooting of herbs, throwing of stones, and drawing up a record of all that had transpired."*

Within the next few days, and as rapidly as possible, a few huts were constructed at a little distance from the beach, to serve as shelter for those who were to remain—priests, soldiers and officers. One of these, a trifle more commodious than the others, was set apart, and duly dedicated as a chapel, and all were surrounded with a wooden palisade sufficient for defense against any probable attack by the Indians. Few of these had been seen during these ceremonies. There were not many in the neighborhood at that season, most of them having gone to the mountains in search of such food as they were accustomed to find there, and the few who remained were probably frightened by the discharges of firearms, and it was quite a time before their timidity was overcome.

It appears to have been intended to found the San Buenaventura mission before the party returned to San Diego, but it had to be given up for the time being. Fathers Parron and Gomez were to have had charge of it, as originally planned, but both suffered severely with scurvy, and Father Parron had been unable to go north with Serra and the others on the San Antonio, while Gomez who had gone, was too ill to be of service. For a time the father presidente seems to have contemplated leaving Crespi alone at

^{*} All this was a part of the ceremony of founding the presidio.

Monterey and going himself to found and have charge of it, till other priests could come from Mexico, but when he came to face the prospect of being alone and "eighty leagues from another priest"—as he writes to Palou, it seemed to be more than was called for. Reluctantly therefore the undertaking was abandoned for the time being, and urgent letters were prepared and sent away to Mexico, reporting what had been done, and earnestly praying that more reapers be sent to help gather the harvest. These were carried by a soldier and a sailor who volunteered for the purpose, and who made the journey to Loreto overland.

Having rendered such assistance as was possible to make the missionaries and the garrison at the place comfortable, and having helped to celebrate the feast of Corpus Christi, with a procession "in order to chase away as many little devils as there may be found there," as Padre Junípero wrote to his friend Palou, Governor Portolá turned over the military command to Lieutenant Fages and, accompanied by Costansó and Dr. Prat, on July 9th sailed for Mexico on the San Antonio, and did not return. As governor of the Californias and military head of the expedition, he was vested with full authority in all secular matters, subject only to the instructions given him by the visitador. He exercised his authority with prudence and moderation, having strict regard always for "the service of God, the glory of the King, and our own honor," as he himself expressed it. Had he been more ambitious than he was; had he looked rather to what he knew his superiors wished him to do, than to the method of doing it, which they had suggested rather

than enjoined, he might have accomplished grander results than he did. Having found the Bay of San Francisco, and the strait connecting it with the ocean, as he undoubtedly did, he would have explored them to their farthest limit, planted the presidio and mission he had been sent to found, on their shores; and having thus carried out the object which his superiors had in view—which was to take possession of the best harbor, and the one lying farthest toward the north in the new province—he would have connected his name far more conspicuously than he did with an important historical event.

His report of the founding of the two missions and presidio, was forwarded to the capital of Mexico upon his arrival at San Blas, and reached there early in August, a little ahead of that sent by the soldier and sailor, who had traveled by land to Loreto. It was received with much rejoicing, which was natural, as little of anything had been heard there from the expedition during the year and a half it had been absent. Bells were rung, flags displayed, and a special high mass was celebrated in the churches. The viceroy and visitador were congratulated on every hand, and both applied themselves, with new energy, to do as much as possible to advance the new enterprise.

Padre Junípero, in his report to the father guardian of his college, modestly asked that two more friars be sent, in order that the mission San Buenaventura might be founded without unnecessary delay; and the viceroy ordered thirty to be sent—twenty to Lower and ten to Upper California. Ten thousand dollars were assigned to be used in founding ten new missions, and

\$400 each to pay the traveling expenses of the new missionaries; who were in addition promised an annual salary of \$375 each. An abundant supply of new vestments was ordered to be got ready, as well as the agricultural implements which had been asked for, and which the Indians at the new missions were to be taught to use. The San Carlos, which had returned at last from her long anchorage at San Diego, was directed to take the priests assigned to Lower California to Loreto, while the San Antonio, was to make a third voyage with the other two to Monterey.

Fortunately a considerable number of Franciscans had recently arrived from Spain, or their college at Mexico would not have been able to supply the large number now demanded. As it was, the whole number was not made up without consenting to the transfer of some missions in New Spain to the care of the secular clergy. When at last the full number was ready, their departure was delayed until January, 1771, and they reached San Diego sixty-eight days later, after a most tedious voyage, during which all were more or less afflicted with scurvy. They reached Monterey on May 21st.*

The San Antonio in addition to bringing these priests, had brought a full cargo of provisions, and Rivera had returned to San Diego with eighty mule loads of

^{*} The ten friars who composed this first reinforcement for the mission force in California—which originally consisted of five—were Padres Luis Jayme, Francisco Dumetz, Antonio Paterna, Antonio Cruzado, Angel Somera, Pedro Benito Cambon, Miguel Pieras, Buenaventura Sitjar, José Cavaller, and Domingo Juncosa. On account of his wound, received in the attack on the camp at San Diego by the Indians, Padre Viscaino had already returned to Mexico, and Padres Gomez and Parron, who were in ill health, were soon to follow, so that Padres Junípero and Crespi alone of the original five remained. The whole missionary force therefore really consisted of only twelve priests.

supplies, and a small herd of driven cattle some months earlier, so that soldiers and missionaries now felt themselves fairly well provided. Padre Junípero was exultant. Ten priests sent him when he had only asked for two, seemed to give assurance of liberal support, and his sanguine nature made him confident that he would soon be able to cope with all the hosts of darkness.

Little had been accomplished in a missionary way so far at San Diego, because of the failing health of Fathers Parron and Gomez, and at Monterey because the padre presidente and his faithful coworker Padre Crespi, were both dissatisfied with the site chosen for the mission. No effort possible had been spared to establish relations with the Indians, and get them interested in what was to be done for them, but little had been done about mission buildings near the presidio. No matter how desirable the protection of the soldiers might be, there were always among them some whose influence on the Indians was bad; in spite of all the fathers could do to prevent it, they corrupted the women, and made the men acquainted with some of their vices. The padre presidente had therefore, in his first letter, asked permission to remove the mission from the site on which it had been founded, to the Carmelo Valley, and this was now granted, the letter authorizing it having come by the San Antonio. Before beginning the transfer, however, something even more agreeable was to be done. The feast of Corpus Christi was again near at hand, and as there were now twelve friars at Monterey, it was resolved to celebrate it in such procession as the padre presidente had not hoped to lead in this new part of the world for many years to come; and this was accordingly done, much to the wonderment of the natives.

The location of the new missions, now that it was possible to establish so many more than had been hoped for, was undoubtedly a matter for grave determination and conference, though no information in regard to it has been preserved. It was desirable, first of all, to place them where the natives were numerous and well disposed. Father Junípero was still anxious, as were his associates also, to begin that one which should honor the founder of their order; and it must be placed near the harbor which bore his name. The others were to be between it and San Diego on the extreme south, and so distributed that they, with the others that would in time be founded, would form a chain of hospitable resting places for weary travelers, whether on spiritual or secular business, and about one day's journey apart. As both Fages and Crespi had been over all this ground twice, and most of it three times, while the father presidente had not seen it at all, it is probable that they, rather than he selected the locations. At any rate they were well chosen. One was to be near the point where the Portolá expedition had felt the great earthquake shock, and on the little stream to which Padre Crespi says they gave "the most sweet name of Iesus de las Temblores"; one near the base of the Santa Lucia Mountains, where the trail started across from the western; and one where it emerged on the eastern side. These with San Buenaventura—the general location of which had long been settled-San Diego and San Carlos, were as many as the twelve friars could at present manage, as there was no thought of assigning less than two to a mission. The good Saint Francis must again wait for the honor all these his followers were so anxious to bestow.

The locations of the missions having been thus generally determined, the friars received their assignments, and Comandante Fages, with the six who were to go south left for San Diego. Some soldiers and Indians were now sent to the Carmelo Valley to erect temporary buildings for the new mission San Carlos, and Padres Junípero and Pieras, with an escort of eight soldiers, three sailors and a few Indians, set off up the valley of the Salinas to set up the new mission on the eastern side of the range. A site was chosen, in the little glen which Portolá had reached September 17, 1769, and here on July 14, 1771 the mission San Antonio de Padua was founded. An incident of the ceremony is preserved which illustrates the character of the father presidente. It is related that as soon as the bells for the new mission had been unpacked, and suspended from the bough of a nearby tree, that he began to ring them as a child might do, exclaiming: "Come gentiles, come to the holy church; come and receive the faith of Jesus Christ!" although there was not a native in sight. The absurdity of the performance appealed to Padre Pieras, who mildly but reprovingly remarked that it would be well to stop such a futile performance and get to work. The reproof was gracefully acknowledged, as we are told, and the padre's suggestion accepted. The cross which the soldiers and sailors were preparing was soon ready;

and after it had been blessed and adored it was set up, the mass was celebrated and so the third mission was founded.

One solitary native witnessed a part of these ceremonies, but others soon after appeared, bringing contributions of nuts and such other food as they had, which they freely offered their visitors. They were evidently pleased with the indications which they saw, that their visitors intended to remain; many of them cheerfully gave their assistance in building the first chapel, and the temporary shelters for the priests and the few soldiers who remained with them. From the first they were better disposed toward the missionaries and more tractable than those at any of the other missions.

When Fages, and the six priests left Monterey on the San Antonio early in June it was expected that they would found the second mission in the south at an early day, but the enterprise was delayed for some weeks by the mutinous conduct of the soldiers at San Diego. After two parties had deserted, and been induced to return through the good offices of some of the friars, Fathers Somera and Cambon, accompanied by ten soldiers who were to remain with them as a guard, four others who were to return after the mission had been founded, and a supply train, set off on August 6th, over the trail which the Portolá party had followed two years earlier. The site on the Santa Ana (Jesus de las Temblores) selected at Monterey was not found to be suitable, and after examining the region with some care another was chosen on the San Gabriel, which the exploring party on its return, had named San Miguel, and here on September 8th, the fourth mission, known as San Gabriel Arcangel, was founded with the customary ceremonies.

Indians were numerous in the neighborhood and at first threatened to be hostile. Two chiefs and their bands were so demonstrative that a battle seemed imminent; but when one of the priests displayed a banner with a picture of the virgin and child, Father Palou says they threw down their arrows, tendered their ornaments as offerings, and in other ways signified their submission. They watched the blessing and planting of the cross, and the other ceremonies, and then assisted cheerfully in erecting the first temporary buildings, and the stockade by which they were enclosed.

For a time all promised well. There was a large Indian population in the neighborhood, and their curious interest in their visitors was such that the missionaries began to be anxious for their own safety. Their ten soldiers could make but a feeble defense against such a multitude in case of a sudden attack, so Father Somera was sent back to San Diego for a reinforcement. He was able to secure only two soldiers and a few days after his return the dreaded uprising began. A soldier had attempted to be familiar with an Indian woman, and her husband, who happened to be a chief, resented the insult by shooting an arrow at him, which the soldier stopped with his shield. The whole camp was soon in an uproar, but the disciplined few with their firearms soon got the best of the undisciplined many with their bows and arrows; the injured husband was killed, his head cut off and set up on a pole, for a warning of what others might expect if they made another attack. The ghastly warning served its purpose. Though remaining in the vicinity, the Indians made no further demonstration, and the priests in a few days managed to establish friendly relations with them. The severed head was given up to be buried, and so much was done to console the family of the dead warrior, that his son was the first to present himself for baptism.

By the time news of what had occurred reached San Diego, twelve soldiers had arrived there from Velicatá, and Fages sent six of them to San Gabriel. The force remaining was then so small that he did not deem it prudent to establish the San Buenaventura mission, at that time. One of the priests who was to have been stationed there was not in good health, which was another excuse for delay; and so its founding was again postponed.

With the few soldiers now left him Fages started for his headquarters at Monterey, by the route which had been already covered three times by him. In the valley which the Portolá party had called Cañada de los Osos, because of the number of bear they had found there, he stopped for a few days hunting and succeeded in killing several, for which the Indians in the neighborhood were very grateful, both because of the contributions their flesh made to their food supply, and because they were glad to be rid of them.

By the San Antonio on her last trip Fages had received instructions from the viceroy to explore the Port of San Francisco, by sea or land, with the view of finding a site for a mission to be founded there. The sickness of Fathers Parron, Gomez, and Viscaino had

made it necessary to postpone the establishment of this and the intermediate mission, between it and Monterey, as already stated, and he therefore took no steps to comply with this order until the more pressing duties of founding the missions further south had received attention. Moreover he had of his own motion, and more than a year earlier, made an excursion in that direction* in which, with eight soldiers, he had passed up through the Santa Clara Valley to the head of the bay, and thence along its eastern side to a point "about seven leagues beyond the place where the explorers of the expedition of the previous year were."† From the top of a hill (possibly that just north of the University grounds in Berkeley) they had seen "a large estuary mouth," which appeared to be "about three hundred yards [wide] and reached about the same distance inland, and another a little narrower." The first turned to the south "about fifteen leagues," and the other extended north and east about twenty; and as they could not see the end of it they turned back.

Both his diary and his letter of transmittal, show that Fages was still confused by Cabrera Bueno's description of the Port of San Francisco, and the estuary east of it. It was the bay east of Point Reyes he was attempting to reach, supposing, as he was probably right in supposing, that it was there the viceroy wished the mission to be located. To him the great inland sea in front of him was simply an estuary, or two estuaries, and not the Port of San Francisco at

^{*} In November, 1770. The diary of this exploration was brought to light by Prof. Herbert E. Bolton of the University of California in 1910.

[†] Fages to Viceroy De Croix, June 20, 1771, transmitting his diary of the expedition, and various other papers.

all. To reach what he supposed to be the real port would require a much longer journey than he was prepared for, and although his soldiers had been very successful in killing game, he turned back.

After a long rest from the fatigues of his return from the south, and doubtless after many conferences about the matter with Fathers Junipero and Crespi, in March, 1772, accompanied by twelve soldiers, a muleteer, an Indian and Father Crespi, he once more set forth to find the port. The route taken was that of the former expedition, and can be traced at the present day,* from Monterey across Salinas Valley to the Gavilan Hills, which they crossed by the Canon of Gavilan Creek, thence via San Benito River and Valley, the San Bernardino Valley, and Coyote River to the Santa Clara Valley, over a trail they had previously followed to a point opposite "the mouth where the two great estuaries communicate with the Gulf of the Farallones." This was perhaps near the hill, or possibly on the hill, which had marked the limit of his earlier trip.

The party next crossed the point to the shore of "a round bay like a great lake," in which they see whales spouting, and hope they are soon to get around it, but are stopped by Carquinez Strait which Crespi named the *Rio San Francisco*.† They follow its

* The Beginnings of San Francisco, by Zoeth S. Eldredge.

[†] Crespi does not mention the naming of the river until some time later when the party had reached the San Joaquin. Then he goes back to describe the various rivers, and division of rivers by islands that he had seen and concludes: "I called this large river by the name of our Father San Francisco," etc. That it was the strait which he so named was the opinion of Fray Narciso Duran, who, in his diary of the expedition of May, 1817, after describing the Sacramento and San Joaquin says: "The two united at their mouth, appear to be the river which the maps put down under a single name, Rio de San Francisco."

banks until they find it broadens into Suisun Bay, which again narrows to a river, which they are no more able to cross than the bay itself. The Indians have been friendly, giving them food and seemingly wishing to render them any needed service. but the white men do not care to trust themselves to the frail rafts which are the only means of aquatic conveyance of the Indians. They follow the south shore of the river until it divides—or rather until they find it is formed by the union of two great streams, flowing from the north and south; and climbing the hills they note that they drain two immense valleys. Still hoping to find some means of crossing, they follow the bank of the great river coming from the south for several leagues, and finding none they turn into an inviting depression in the hills, cross over to the bay again, by the San Ramon, Amador, and Sunol valleys, and return to Monterey. The expedition had not accomplished what had been hoped from it, yet it had accomplished more than had been hoped: it had discovered the San Joaquin and Sacramento valleys.

It was now apparent that the mission which was to honor the name of the "seraphic Father, Saint Francis" could not be founded for the present. The order of the viceroy and the visitador was that it must be placed near his bay, and this was also in accordance with the desire of all concerned. His bay they still believed to be under Point Reyes, and from it they were shut off by an apparently interminable stretch of bay, strait and rivers, until such a time as a ship should be at their disposal. That could not be, until later, although of course they did not then know it.

There was much else to do. Food soon promised to be scarce at Monterey, and news had been received that it was already scarce at San Gabriel and San Diego. The missionaries, in their anxiety to induce the Indians to come and live at the missions, had been more liberal with their gifts of food than their present resources justified; the Indians, with their natural improvidence, did less to supply themselves than they had been accustomed to. The mission larders, unlike the widow's cruse of oil and handful of meal were not replenished miraculously. The new missions had been planted, and San Carlos had been removed to its new site so late that their gardens produced little that was available so early in the season; their fields had as yet produced nothing. Famine was imminent unless the expected ship should come in good time.

The padre presidente had also received the unwelcome news that Padres Cambon, Dumetz, and Somera were ill, and the two former had gone back to the peninsula, leaving him with two workers less than he had been counting on. He accordingly dispatched Crespi to San Gabriel, and by his escort, Fages sent a little flour, though he could ill afford to spare it. He then organized a hunting party, and with so much success that a goodly quantity of bear meat replenished the tables of both the mission and the presidio for several weeks.* The Indians also went after game when food was no longer given them in sufficient

^{*}Unlike American soldiers these Spaniards seem to have cared little for hunting, though they were successful hunters when forced to be, if game was abundant. On Fages' first exploring tour the soldiers found it so easy to get geese that one of them killed nine at three shots, much to the amazement of the Indians.

quantity to satisfy their appetites, and not only provided themselves, but made some recompense for what had already been given them.

The San Antonio and San Carlos both arrived on the coast with supplies in midsummer, but for some reason were unable to reach Monterey, and both stopped at San Diego, where Fages, with some soldiers, went to meet them in order to send relief northward by pack train, He took with him the father presidente and Padre Cavaller, and also the vestments, bells and other mission supplies that had been waiting so long at Monterey for the fifth mission. It had previously been settled that it should be placed between San Antonio de Padua and the future San Buenaventura, and a site for it was now chosen near the Cañada de los Osos, which was becoming famous for bear meat. Fages on three different occasions hunted there with success. The Indians in the neighborhood were numerous, and had always been well disposed. The chief of one particularly large tribe had distinguished himself by his liberality to the Portolá party, both when going and returning. He had a large tumor on his neck, for which reason the soldiers called him El Buchon, and so named their camp and the valley in which it was located; so it is called today. Half a league from this valley the cross was erected and on September I, 1772 the mission was founded with the usual ceremonies, Padre Junípero himself officiating, and named San Luis Obispo.*

^{*}San Luis the Bishop, in honor of Saint Luis, bishop of Toulouse, son of Charles II, of Naples, born in 1275, and an early member of the Franciscan Order. The Portolá party had named a camp on the Santa Barbara Channel, thirty-five leagues further south, in his honor, but the name for that place is no longer used.

Leaving Padre Cavaller here to begin his missionary work alone, the party pursued its journey southward, hardly pausing to examine the site of the long delayed San Buenaventura, which the padre presidente eagerly hoped soon to found; resting for two days at San Gabriel, and finally reaching San Diego on the 16th of September. This was Padre Junípero's first trip over the road, which he was to travel again under better circumstances and with more authority, though he was not to live to see San Buenaventura established.

Things were not prosperous at San Diego, though little is now known of what had taken place there since Portolá and the San Antonio had left it more than two years earlier. Most of the party left there had recovered from their pitiable plight; Vila had with great difficulty, and by the aid of a few convalescents some sailors and some Indians—got the San Carlos out of the harbor, and sailed her safely back to San Blas, and now she and her consort had returned, bountifully laden with supplies, but adverse winds prevented them from proceeding to Monterey where their appearance was hungrily hoped for. The discouraged sailors were of opinion that the mule train must be relied upon to send supplies northward, and some were sent that way, but enough only for temporary relief and not for permanent supply because of lack of mules. The sailors were therefore appealed to by the priests to make one more effort, which they did, and in time delivered their cargo at the destined port.

Trouble had been brewing between the commandant of the presidio and the padre presidente for some time, and it now became serious. The former had

assumed, from the time Portolá had departed, leaving him in command, that he had been vested with all of that officer's authority as governor, as well as military commander, subject only to the governor of both Californias whose headquarters were at Loreto; and what was a military commander, who was governor, to do where there was nobody to govern except his soldiers and a few missionaries, unless he governed the missionaries? The visitador had directed everything while the expedition was preparing; had fixed the number of missions to be founded, chosen their names, and directed in a general way where they should be established. After San Diego was reached Portolá had exercised full authority. Without question now that he was gone, and had left him to command in his stead, Fages had some reason for assuming that something more was expected of him than merely to command at the presidio. He was required to furnish guards for the missions, and his authority over his soldiers certainly would not cease when they were detailed for that duty. Since he was required to furnish guards for the missions, he was responsible for their defense, and he must keep them and the missionaries supplied with provisions for a time at least. His means were limited, and should he permit either the soldiers or missionaries at any station to suffer for supplies because of his failure to distribute them, it would be disgraceful; if they were attacked and he did not relieve them, it would be still worse. That he should claim to have something to say about the time and place for locating new missions was therefore not wholly unreasonable.

On the other hand Padre Junipero had more priests, temporarily, than he had employment for. The rules of his order required that two be kept at each mission, but did not require more. He had two unassigned at San Carlos, and supposed he had two more at San Gabriel. They had been waiting more than a year for their missions to be founded, and doubtless with some impatience for unassigned missionaries received no stipends. San Buenaventura, the one mission on which the visitadors' heart had been set, more than any other, was not yet established. Sickness of the friars who were first assigned to it had once postponed it; the trouble at the founding of San Gabriel delayed it again; but now friars, and vestments and bells and all the church furniture that had been specially set aside for it were ready, and had been long waiting; but all was again balked because Fages pleaded a lack of soldiers.

The refusal to furnish a guard for this mission brought matters to a crisis. Burning with desire not only to found this, but other missions, the padre presidente had written the viceroy, and the guardian of his college, urgent letters asking for more missionaries, as well as complaining of the conduct of the military commander in failing to further his wishes. He had also poured out his heart to his old friend and pupil, Padre Palou, chief of the missions in the peninsula, and that able and energetic missionary had added his solicitations to those of his friend.

These had not been altogether as well received in Mexico as had been hoped. Fages had been admonished, in a letter from the viceroy himself, to be more considerate and helpful, though no increased means to enable him to do so were furnished. Padre Junípero's enterprise had been criticised by some on whose support he had counted, and in some degree depended. Taking counsel with the priests who were at San Diego, when he arrived there, it was agreed that some one of them ought to go to the capital and explain things to the viceroy, and naturally the assignment fell to the padre presidente himself.

The time was opportune for such a visit. By an arrangement between the heads of the two orders in Mexico, and by authority of the government, the missions in the peninsula were about to be transferred from the Franciscans to the Dominicans. This would release all the missionaries of the first named order who were then in Lower California, from present employment, and many of them presumably would be available for the new field. A new viceroy, Bucareli, an able and energetic officer, had recently been installed in place of De Croix, and it was of course desirable that he should be correctly informed at the start, in regard to the state of affairs in the new field, and his sympathies engaged in the interests of the missionaries.

The San Carlos was ready to sail on her return voyage in September and the padre presidente took passage on board for San Blas. In due time, though after suffering serious illness from fever on the way, he arrived at the capital, where he metagracious reception. He found there that it had been at first proposed to send only four of the recently released friars to his assistance, but through the efforts of his friend Palou the number had been increased to "eight or ten."

To his great gratification Palou himself was to be one of the number. The same practical coworker, while delivering the missions of the peninsula to the Dominicans, had also set measures on foot to secure a considerable number of cattle, and a supply of church furniture, and other useful articles from the southern missions; and to be allowed to take twenty-five families of mission Indians, who would be very useful not only in helping to induce the northern gentiles to accept missionary instruction, but in teaching them the new and useful arts they had themselves learned. In July of the following year, when the San Carlos arrived at Loreto in distress, and with a cargo of supplies for the northern missions on board, which she was compelled to discharge in order to return to San Blas for repairs, Palou foreseeing that distress must follow this enforced delay, organized a pack train, and transported enough provisions to San Diego to save the northern missions from want. On the way north from the old field of his missionary labors to the new in which he was to be, as ever, an efficient and faithful worker, he caused to be set up, at a point some fifteen leagues south of San Diego, on a lofty rock, a great wooden cross, with a suitable inscription, to mark the boundary between the Dominican and Franciscan territory; it long remained to mark the dividing line between Lower and Upper California.

In the haste of departure, owing to the necessity of getting the supplies he was to carry, through in time to prevent suffering, he left a part of the work he had planned unfinished; though providing that it should be attended to. Father Cambon was left behind to

bring up the Indian families, a part of the cattle, and some of the church and other property. Governor Barri was to send as much maize as possible forward to San Luis Bay, whither he would send his pack train to receive it. By these and other arrangements did this excellent man save his fellow missionaries, and also the soldiers in the north from actual want, while transferring the second reinforcement of missionaries for Alta California to their new field of labor.

When Padre Junipero arrived at the capital he found he was none to soon to save the new settlement from a greater danger than had previously threatened it. Gálvez and Croix, its founders and staunch supporters, had both returned to Spain, and some of those people who seek to gain favor by recommending new things, no matter what—there were such people then as well as now-were advising the new viceroy to abandon the harbor of San Blas, and supply the northern stations by pack train. While this would have meant that everything must be transported five hundred leagues, to Guaymas, on mule back, thence across the stormy gulf to San Luis Rey, and again by pack train three or four hundred leagues, with all the attendant dangers from Indian attacks, and difficulties of bad roads—the proposition was received with some favor. The ships had not been a thoroughly reliable resource. They were always delayed, and much of what they brought arrived in bad condition, but the pack trains would still have been worse-would perhaps have failed entirely, and as the missions were still far from being self-supporting, one failure might have been fatal.

The new viceroy had been instructed to "sustain and aid by all possible means" the new enterprise in the north, and Padre Junípero found him well disposed to listen to all he had to say. The guardian of San Fernando College, who under the strict rule of the Franciscan system, could have managed matters for him, permitted him to plead his cause in person, though giving him his own encouragement and support.

At the viceroy's direction he presented his cause in the form of a written memorial, which he had ready a few days later. It consisted of thirty-two suggestions for promoting, sustaining, and managing the institutions under his charge. It was a most temperate and admirable paper, and shows its author to have been a far more practical man than such an enthusiast as we are wont to regard him, would be expected to be. He pointed out the need of having a better management of the supply ships; for a revision of the system of invoicing, forwarding, delivering and distributing supplies; for more church furniture; more agricultural implements and mechanical tools; and also for skilled artisans to teach the Indians their use. More domestic animals, were needed, especially for breeding purposes; and he particularly asked that when these should be driven north, as they would require to be, that some families of Lower California Indians might be sent with them as Palou had already recommended. He asked that Fages be removed from command, because the soldiers were as much dissatisfied with him as the missionaries were; and he also asked that his successor should be instructed not to meddle with the correspondence of the missionaries,

or to examine the goods sent to them, or delay their delivery. Still further he urged that the friars be given more authority in the management of temporal matters at the missions; that the soldier guards "should be made to understand that the control, management, punishment and education of the baptized Indians, and of those under instruction for baptism, pertained exclusively to the missionaries, except in matters requiring capital punishment, and therefore no punishment or ill-treatment should be inflicted upon any of said neophytes, either by the commander or the soldiers, without the consent of the missionary in charge.

These requests, so far as the management of the missions was concerned, were for the most part granted, and a great change for the better resulted, as would be Division of authority in the management of anything is bad, and would be particularly bad in managing people to whom everything would be new, and to whom nothing could be thoroughly explained because as yet neither understood the language of the other. It would be necessary at times to punish incorrigibles, but it would be needful that punishment, when used, should be imposed for cause only. Unless the power to compel obedience to necessary rules were exercised only by those who were endeavoring to persuade, their efforts at persuasion were not likely to be long respected. Soldiers were but little suited to missionary work. Their presence at the missions did not harmonize with the gentle teachings of the gospel which is designed to bring peace not a sword; it was perhaps desirable, or even necessary, for a time after the missions were established, but during a greater part of the time the fathers would have managed better without them.

It needs to be remembered that most of the earlier regulations for mission government in California had been made by Gálvez, because it was customary for the power he represented to make regulations for everything. He was a wise man in his time, and an energetic and most capable official, but he could not make workable rules for the regulation of things about which he had no practical information, better than another. In this he was not singular. The number of people who think they can, and who do make regulations for the control of things about which they know little, or perhaps nothing, has greatly increased since his time, and there is nothing with which the world is at present so abundantly supplied as with regulations so made. They apply, or are supposed to apply to all conceivable things, and are by courtesy or general consent called laws, though they would more properly be called experi-Courts are vainly endeavoring to get some of them understood and applied, and sometimes without much success, because they are more or less unworkable. Naturally more or less confusion, a vast amount of waste of effort and loss of time result; and the only remedy suggested is more regulations made by more people who are even more incompetent to make them.

Padre Junípero's thirty-two suggestions were referred by the viceroy to the Board of War and Royal Exchequer, and in due time eighteen of them were approved in whole, and three others in part. The more important of the others received favorable attention later, and those disallowed or passed without action pertained for the most part, to matters of least concern to the missions. The good priest won all that he most wished for, except that Fages was not immediately removed; but when a change was made, some time later, his successor was chosen from the presidial, and not the regular soldiers, as he advised, and most important of all, and most gratifying as well, was the decision that thenceforth the missionaries should rule in their missions, as fathers among their children. Objectionable soldiers should be removed at their request, and the others should have no power to punish the Indians except by order of the fathers.

Having been given so much, the father presidente was asked to present a report on the mission work done, and the results accomplished so far; for the new viceroy was a practical man, and wished to be as thoroughly informed as possible in regard to all matters in his province. The report was prepared by the aid of information sent by Palou, who had been authorized to assume charge in Junípero's absence, upon his arrival in San Diego. After giving the history of the founding of the five missions so far established, it showed that 491 Indians had been baptized, 29 of whom had died, and there had been 62 marriages, in three of which Spanish soldiers had married native women. The five missions were under the care of nineteen friars, including those recently released from the peninsula. The military force in the province consisted of thirty-five presidial soldiers and twenty-four Catalan volunteers, and their commanders; and these with a very few others,

at the beginning of the year 1774, comprised the whole Spanish population of Alta California.

The report contained much other interesting information in regard to the method of missionary work, the obstacles encountered and the means used to overcome them; and was so favorably received that its author was assured that some at least of his requests which had not been granted, were held for further consideration, and would in due time receive attention. San Blas and the ships were saved; the present method of supply would be continued and improved, and better than all, as afterwards appeared, his recommendation that an effort be made to open communication between Sonora and Monterey was to be approved. This had been a very important part of the original plan of Gálvez, for taking and holding possession of the north country. He had taken pains to set forth in detail in his memorial all that he thought ought to be done from that direction. But though it was so large a part of his plan, nothing had been done so far to put it into execution. Possibly the viceroy had been looking up the memorial; or possibly the desirability of connecting California with Sonora by an all land route may have recommended itself to his strong good sense as an original proposition. However, it came about, he was about to set on foot one of the most important undertakings in the early history of California—the expedition of Captain Juan Bautista de Anza from the presidio of Tubac, in the present state of Arizona, to the Golden Gate.

Those parts of the memorial on which no decision was reached, were referred to an expert, Don Juan José Echeveste, who drew up a new set of regulations

for the government of the new province, which were later approved and put in force. They provided for a governor, to be stationed at Loreto, who should rule both Upper and Lower California. In the latter there were to be two presidios, one at Monterey and one at San Diego (the latter had not yet been established), under command of a captain who should reside at Monterey, and a lieutenant who should have charge at San Diego. Each presidio should have a force of twenty-five soldiers, including a sergeant and two corporals. Each was also to have a storekeeper, two blacksmiths and two carpenters, who in addition to their work at the forts were to be of such service as they could at the missions, in teaching the Indians the use of tools. A corporal with five soldiers was to be stationed at each mission as a guard. Four muleteers were to be provided to manage and care for the pack animals used to distribute supplies and such goods of every sort, including presents and clothing for the Indians, as should be sent out. The dockyards and warehouses at San Blas were to be continued, and a frigate and one packet boat were to ply between this central supply station and San Diego and Monterey as needed.

The annual cost of all this, including \$16,450 to pay the salaries of the governor and the soldiers at the Loreto presidio, and the salaries of the missionaries which were to be increased from \$375 to \$400 per annum, was fixed at \$119,342. Most of this was to be paid in goods and supplies, at an advance of one hundred and fifty percent over first cost—for a generous government which did so much for its people, including

their thinking and bargaining, was liberal with itself—and yet the sum required considerably exceeded the revenues available.

The pious fund was accordingly required to advance \$10,000 to meet the deficiency, though—as is always the case in bad financing—it was specially declared that the advance would be asked for this one year only.

The pious fund had been established to promote the conversion of the heathen in partibus infidelium, and particularly in the Californias. It had its beginning in the year 1697 when Salvatierra and Kino had solicited permission from the viceroy to Christianize the peninsula, and had been graciously permitted to do so at their own expense. Salvatierra had collected some \$47,000 to begin with, and Juan Ugarte had increased it, until by bequests, and special contributions made by piously disposed people, it had grown, according to Padre Palou, to something over \$504,000 at the time of the expulsion of the Jesuits. A large part of it was loaned, or otherwise invested, and the income only used to promote missionary work. At or about the time that Gálvez went to Loreto, to organize the "sacred expedition" for the conquest of Alta California, there is believed to have been some \$92,000 in cash in the fund, while goods belonging to it, of the value of more than \$100,000 more were in warehouses in Loreto, and elsewhere. It has been charged that Gálvez drew liberally upon both cash and goods-that he robbed the fund in fact—in fitting out this expedition, though the charge has not been sustained by sufficient evidence. It is true that the Lower California missions were required to furnish vestments, church bells, and other property, including horses, mules, and cattle for the expedition, some part of which was to be returned. It is true also that Viceroy Bucareli set on foot an inquiry in 1773, as to whether the expenditure for account of the Californias, of something more than \$136,184 belonging to the fund, in the six years succeeding the expulsion of the Jesuits, had been in all respects legitimate. This sum, he says, had been expended by virtue of his own order and those of his predecessor, so that Gálvez could not be charged with having used the whole of it. Some portion of it at least had been legitimately used, for the object of the fund had been to establish these very missions, and they had been maintained during these six years.

On the other hand Gálvez could not have been required to make any very considerable expenditure in cash, in fitting out his expedition, even if the money belonging to the fund had been subject to his order. The soldiers employed were already enlisted, and in the pay of the government. The ships belonged to the government. The Indians who accompanied the expedition worked without pay, and would have been fed by the missions had they remained where they were. The friars received whatever they did receive, which was never very much, from the same source that they would have received it, had they also remained at their missions. The chief, and in fact the only cash expenditure therefore, would have been for provisions and other supplies, such as farming implements, seeds, etcetera; and some at least of these, as we know were furnished from the mission stocks, with the understanding that they were to be returned in kind.

In view then of the fact that it was the general law of the missions that the old should help to establish the new, that the mission fund was designed for the establishment and support of new missions, and that in a larger degree the purpose of the expedition was to establish missions for the propagation of the faith among the heathen, we may quite believe that Gálvez and Croix were justified in drawing upon the fund, so far as they did draw on it. It is true that they had a political purpose in view, which the missions were to serve—in fact they were to be the chief factor in it—but in so far as they served that purpose they did so without in the least degree lessening their value as missionary institutions.

It is no doubt true that the pious fund was badly managed, after laymen, and particularly the politicians, began to meddle with it. It was doubtless robbed at times; after the revolution the Mexican government made away with the whole of it, and was compelled by legal process, to make restitution; but Gálvez was not a party to the robbery.

Having so nearly gained all he had to ask Padre Junípero set out for home in September, but did not reach San Diego until late in January, 1774, so irregular were the means of conveyance at that time. He was compelled to continue his journey thence, by land, which was not an unwelcome necessity, since it gave him opportunity to visit all the missions by the way, and to meet once more the associates from whom he had been separated for nearly two years. He was to meet also some, who though not unknown to him, were new to the work in Alta California, and would win

honorable fame in it; chief among these were Francisco Palou and Fermin Francisco Lasuén.

There were now eighteen friars subject to the direction of the father presidente, two for each of the missions already established, and one might find employment as chaplain of the presidio, leaving eight for new establishments, some of which would soon be erected, or to relieve temporarily, any who should be sick. The authorities in Mexico had shown some anxiety to have two new missions—one on the Bay of San Francisco, and one at some intermediate point between it and Monterey, located as soon as possible, and in this desire Padre Junípero heartily participated.

Meantime he and his assistants found abundant occupation in getting the institutions already founded well started in the work they were to do. Of the early years of these missions, and the trials, perplexities and privations of those strange, self-sacrificing men, who put aside all that mankind holds dear-home, country, family, friends, the pleasures and advantages of civilization—to bury themselves in the wilderness, in order that they might help savages to live better and die better than they were living and dying, it would be interesting to know more than can now be known. We know that for a time after the missions were established they lived in temporary shelters made of boughs. Gradually by the help of the soldiers, and such Indians as they could induce to assist them by gifts of trifling presents, other buildings made of poles and thatched with tules or grass or covered with clay, were built of palings or short poles set on end and so fixed in the ground that they could not easily be removed, or thrown down in case of attack. For the chapels, bells and some altar furniture and ornaments had been provided, but the huts were unfurnished for a time, probably without doors or windows, or fire-places, and unlighted except by day, for candles were too precious for any use except at the altar. The permanent buildings, with whose ruins we are now familiar, were of slow growth—built by years of toil, and after Indian labor had become more abundant.

How the missionaries subsisted during these earlier years we can only guess. The supplies sent them from San Blas consisted, for the most part, of salt or dried meats—frequently badly cured and very unwholesome—flour or meal sometimes more or less damaged in transportation, beans, peas, brown sugar, chocolate, a little coffee, and a limited supply of wine and brandy for sacramental purposes and for the sick. As the ships were very irregular in their coming and going, they were sometimes short of food of very many kinds, and in 1773 the fathers at San Carlos, and perhaps at other missions lived for nearly eight months on little more than milk and such green stuff as they could gather in the woods, with occasional contributions from their Indian neighbors, who were not yet a part of the mission establishments.

During these months of fasting, the friars tended the little gardens which they got started, with watchful care, but every growing thing was too precious at that time to be used for food. They had brought but a handful of seeds at best, and had they brought more, they could not, with the rude implements they had, have prepared more ground in which to plant them. They were not skilled farmers, knew nothing of the suitability of soils for various crops, and while they may have been able to guess with more or less certainty, did not know whether or not irrigation would be required in any of the localities in which they were. As it was required at most of the earlier missions, it could be done only in a most primitive way during these first years, by carrying water in such vessels as they had. The return from the first plantings, under such circumstances, would necessarily be small, and as the hope was to surround each establishment with a numerous family of converts, all of whom would have to be fed and otherwise cared for after they were baptized, everything grown must be saved for seed for the planting of the following year. So the good fathers "tightened their cords," as Padre Crespi good humoredly says, and toiled on.

About what was grown in these early mission garden patches there is little to enable us to guess. The potato was but little known in that day, and not yet much used as a food product. La Perouse, the French explorer, at San Carlos in September, 1786, says: "Our gardener gave the missionaries some Chile potatoes, very perfectly preserved; I believe that these were not the least valuable of our presents, and that this root will thrive very well in the light and fertile land in the vicinity of Monterey." Cabbage is nowhere mentioned in the early records, though Padre Font found some coleworts growing near a spring at San Gabriel in January, 1776, "which from a little seed that was sown now cover the ground." At the same place wild celery, "herbs which appear to be

lettuces, some roots like parsnips," and "a great abundance of water-cresses of which I ate enough."* The squash, friend of the early settlers everywhere, may have been grown, as may also such root products as beets and turnips. Beans, peas, and onions, a staple food product among the peasantry of southern Europe, were certainly cultivated and were the chief garden products of that day. Melons were grown later, and may have been represented in the earliest seed supplies, but there was no fruit except such as grew wild.

Cooking was no doubt carried on in the open, or under a separate temporary shelter, until the permanent buildings were erected. An iron pot suspended over an open fire, from a pole supported by a forked stick at either end, was the main reliance of this open kitchen as it was of the settlers of their time. Roasting and baking were done in the hot ashes or coals or with a sharpened stick for a toasting fork; for the Dutch oven does not appear among the mission relics. Toasting forks, gridirons, stew pans and similar utensils, like tables, chairs and articles of furniture, must be waited for until the blacksmith and carpenter could be sent from the presidio to manufacture them, and most of the implements to be used in farming would be made in the same way when there was need for them.

Relations with the Indians were established slowly, and by such means as experience suggested. Curiosity brought them about the camps at first. The ringing of the mission bells attracted them. The service of the mass, celebrated daily, with its lighted candles and other symbols, its showy vestments, and ceremo-

^{*} On the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer, p. 261.

nies interested them. Trifling presents, offers of food and other evidences of good will, the soldiers with their weapons, visible manifestation of their superior power, naturally inclined them to establish friendly relations with the new and strange people, who had these novel things to give, and could do terrible things if they wished. In most places they brought presents of seeds, nuts, and fish or game in return for what they received, and friendly relations were soon well begun; but conversation was impossible except by signs, for neither could understand a word of the other. In most cases the friars had with them at the founding of a new mission, an Indian from Lower California, or from a neighboring mission, but he was of small help except as a living witness that he had been treated well by them; for he was as ignorant of the language of the other Indians as the priests themselves. It was by means of signs that progress was most rapidly made at first, and in the use of these the Indian assistant was very helpful until the fathers themselves became expert with them. The sign language is universal among savages, and much can be very intelligently expressed in it. Lewis and Clark observed during their famous expedition, that most of the signs made by members of the different tribes whom they encountered, were very natural and easily understood. Some of them were the same as those used by the Egyptians and the Jews centuries earlier. Deaf and dumb children are taught to express many things by signs, in addition to the words spelled by their fingers. These signs are so naturally expressive as to be easily understood. It is said that a party of Indians who were once visiting

Washington, in charge of their agent, were taken one evening to an entertainment given by some of these children, and that they apparently comprehended with ease all that was represented, giving every evidence that they enjoyed the performance thoroughly.

The friars therefore, it may be presumed, rapidly learned to convey to their visitors much that they could not express in words, that they could understand. When assistance was given them in cutting and preparing the materials for their buildings, some recompense for it was always given. Trinkets were given as payment for services rendered. The Indians were thus shown that service procured reward. In time they were shown that the reward might be regularly obtained, and the desirableness of this would be easily apparent, as they were not at all times able to provide themselves, and were sometimes in want. Articles of clothing, were particularly tempting, being usually of bright color, and the savage is always vain. Their quality also was better than anything they had ever before seen; they were more comfortable to their bodies, as well as more attractive to their eyes. The natural inclination also of the human kind to admire, and associate with those who can do more and better things than they themselves can do, or have been accustomed to do-to get benefits of whatever kind from those who are more capable of commanding them—helped to produce the results which were first to be accomplished.

To awaken interest in what they had come to teach was the next step, and was more difficult. It was particularly difficult because of the extreme stupidity of the people with whom they had to deal. They

were so low in the social scale that they seem to have had no conception of a Creator, and to have had nothing or next to nothing resembling either religion or infidelity. To awaken in such a people a knowledge of divine things, or even a willingness to receive such knowledge, would have seemed to those less fully consecrated to their work, a hopeless undertaking. But to these men it was not hopeless, and they went cheerfully about it.



CHAPTER VIII. SONORA TO MONTEREY



HE object of planting a presidio and mission at Monterey had been to establish "a constant and sure sign indicating the authority of the King" in the most northern harbor on the coast. This it was supposed to be until Portolá returned with a report of having found a great bay,* or inland sea, a whole degree further north; then it was apparent that this object had not been accomplished. He had faithfully carried out his instructions, but in doing so had acquired information which showed that what he had been sent to do was not what ought to be done.

As soon as this was known at the capital, orders were huried to the captain of the San Antonio, then about to sail from San Blas with the ten priests sent north in 1771, to visit the new-found bay, if he should be able to do so, and leave two of the missionaries there with a temporary guard of sailors, until soldiers and the necessary materials for founding a mission could be sent to them; but the captain had not been able to

^{*} Portolá had written two letters to the viceroy from San Diego, after his return from his first expedition, but had said little in them about his great discovery. In the first, dated February 11, 1770, he does not even mention it; in the second, dated April 17th, he says that he and Perez, commander of the San Antonio. have arranged that the latter shall look for the entrance—somewhere south of the point to which his instructions require him to go-"to a large estuary, which extends into the land twelve or sixteen leagues, which it appeared to all of us might very well be a port, and at the same time a place very well suited to the establishment of a mission." Further on he suggests that he may found the presidio and mission he has been sent to establish, in this new bay "if it (Monterey) should not exist," or rather if it should be at the Port of San Francisco—(i.e. the old port at Point Reyes) or in the other place cited; and should he do so he feels confident that "your Excellency will not take it ill, for the more we extend ourselves to the north the greater dominions, better lands, and the very many more heathen will the King possess." Those letters, together with a very interesting letter from Father Crespi were recently brought to light by Prof. Herbert E. Bolton of the University of California. See San Francisco Call, October 17, 1909.

find the Golden Gate,* and so had anchored at Monterey, leaving Saint Francis to wait once more for his mission. Fages was also directed to explore the new bay more thoroughly from the land side, and this he endeavored to do in 1772. There the matter rested until Bucareli became viceroy.

When the active mind of that excellent officer was turned toward California, as it was by Padre Junípero's visit, he did not allow it to be diverted until he had put all matters pertaining to the king's interests in it in the best possible order. This he accomplished by a series of measures which he arranged to put into effect as promptly as possible, for with him to resolve was to act. The recommendations of the padre presidente's memorial that had not been definitely acted upon before his departure from the capital, received attention soon after, and that one, the approval of which he had as earnestly desired as any other, was decided in his favor; the troublesome Fages was removed and Rivera was named as comandante in his stead. In addition a new presidio was ordered to be established at San Diego, and Sergeant Ortega, the pathfinder, was named its commander, with the rank of lieutenant. The system by which supplies were forwarded by sea was reorganized; another ship, the Santiago,† was added to the two already employed in that service, and San Blas was advanced to the dignity of a port, of which there were at that time but two in all New Spain—Vera Cruz and Acapulco. It was

^{*} Most likely he had looked for it only in the neighborhood of Point Reyes, or in Bolinas Bay, where Crespi, Costansó, and others of the Portolá expedition first supposed it to be.

† Sometimes also called the Nueva Galicia.

also ordered that the new and still unnamed bay, which Portolá had found, should be further explored by a land party, and that a ship should also be sent to enter and survey it; another ship was to be sent to explore the coast as far north as latitude 60°, for reports recently received from Spain had indicated that the Russians were extending their activities southward. and would probably be found in that neighborhood. More important than all else a land route from one of the presidios in Sonora to Monterey, and possibly another from Santa Fe, or some point in New Mexico to the same place, was to be explored. Settler soldiers. to take the places of Fages' Catalans, who were to return with him to the south, as soon as Rivera should relieve him, were to be recruited, and only married men who should take their families with them were to be received. They were to be enlisted for a term of ten years, at the expiration of which they were to remain in the country; meantime they and their families were to "eat with the King"-that is, they were to draw rations. By this arrangement the first settler families were sent to California.

The first of these parties was to be recruited in Sinaloa by Rivera, the new comandante and governor—for he was responsible to the governor of both Californias whose capital was at Loreto, only in so far as to report through him to the viceroy. He was in Lower California at the time of his appointment, and went to Mexico City to receive his instructions. A second and smaller party was to be enlisted by Sergeant Ortega, now raised to the grade of lieutenant, who was at Santa Ana in Lower California.

Fernando de Rivera y Moncada had been Portolá's lieutenant at Loreto, and commanded the first land division in the march from Velicatá to San Diego. He belonged to the ordinary soldiers or those of the presidios; had been recommended for appointment to his new position by Padre Junípero, and his appointment had been made for that reason. He was not well fitted for independent command, being a man of petulant temper, procrastinating of habit, lacking in decision, suspicious of all, and jealous of any who seemed to be preferred before him. As second in command in the peninsula under Portolá he had given fairly satisfactory service, though he had found no opportunity to distinguish himself. He had felt aggrieved when Fages was left in command on Portolá's retirement, though he had swallowed his spleen in silence then and later, as a soldier should; but now that time had begun to set things even, as he thought, he proceeded, as men of small calibre usually do, to balance scores by making arrogant use of his newly acquired authority. On arriving at Monterey he promptly ordered Fages to close his accounts and be gone by a certain day; all of which discourtesy Fages treated with contempt, in no wise hastening his departure, or complying, or showing a disposition to comply, with the insulting commands of his insolent successor. When he had sufficiently aggravated his enemy by this show of indifference, to provoke a new series of orders, he calmly produced the written authority of the viceroy for doing things in his own way and in his own time, leaving the comandante to moderate his indignation and make peace with his pride as best he

could. A man of such temperament was not likely to get through the period of his command without some humiliating experiences, and Rivera had his share of them.

Soon after receiving his appointment and instructions, he repaired to Sinaloa to raise his company of colonists, and in March following arrived at Loreto with a party of fifty-one persons, soldiers and their families. The women and children of this party, and perhaps some of the men also, he left at Velicatá to be brought up by Lieutenant Ortega-who was coming with the party he had recruited at Santa Ana and proceeded northward, arriving at Monterey in May. The new ship, the Santiago, by which Padre Junípero had come north as far as San Diego, was lying in the harbor, having arrived on the 9th, and the padre himself, having come up from San Diego by land, visiting missions on the way, was at San Carlos. Now began the troublesome business of transferring the command, made so by the pompous assumptions of the new commander. It dragged on through two months or more, the new chief and the old keeping up a lively if not very dignified correspondence meanwhile, and apparently addressing each other by letter only. The transfer was concluded on July 19th, when most of the Catalan soldiers sailed for San Blas by the San Antonio, which had meantime arrived; and Fages himself departed a few days later, going by land as far as San Diego, possibly for no other reason than that Rivera had directed him to go by ship.

Having discharged her cargo of supplies at Monterey, the Santiago, under command of Juan Perez,

sailed away northward, to explore the coast as far as the 60th parallel if possible, according to the instructions of the new viceroy. The story of what she accomplished, as recorded by Padre Crespi, who with Padre Tomas de la Peña was sent as chaplain and annalist of the expedition, belongs to another chapter.

While Rivera was recruiting his company of soldier settlers with their families in Sinaloa, and getting them started toward their new homes in the northwest, Captain Anza of the far-away presidio of Tubac, was exploring the long-talked of land route from Sonora to Monterey. Anza was in most things the exact opposite of Rivera. Promptness was in him a strong characteristic. With him to decide was to do; the firstlings of his mind at once became the firstlings of his hand. He had been born on the frontier; all his life so far had been spent in the presidios of the remote border, one of which his father had commanded. In his youth he had learned all the arts of the plainsman; in later years he had been trained both to obey and to command as a soldier. Strong of limb, cool of head, resourceful, tactful, he had withal abundant courage, self reliance, and more than all else, enterprise, without which no soldier is ever really great. Long acquaintance with the Indian had taught him how to deal with him successfully, whether he was inclined to be peaceful or hostile. Such a man might easily have been guessed to be what experience proved he was, a successful explorer and pioneer.

Years before he arrived at the age of command, his father had been thinking and talking of exploring the way toward the west to the ocean. He had been ambitious to

JUAN BAUTISTA DE ANZA

Founder of the City of San Francisco.

Born in Mexico, perhaps, about 1728; died in Mexico,
December 19, 1788.

The picture is drawn from a portrait in oil by Fray Orsi in 1774.

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undertake that enterprise, but was not permitted to do so. The son took up the project where his father left it when his earthly labors were finished, and proposed to Gálvez, when the "sacred expedition" was projected, to lead a contingent of his own force from Tubac to the coast in connection with it, and without extra expense to the government. Indeed it is quite possible, and even probable that the visitador got the seed of the plan he proposed to the king in his memorial, from his consultation with this border soldier.

For some reason not explained, but probably because Gálvez preferred to do nothing in that direction until authorized to do all he had suggested, Anza was not permitted to undertake the exploration at that time. He did not, however, abandon hope, but renewed his suggestion at the first opportune moment, which was soon after Bucareli came to power. The new viceroy considered it with favor, and had referred it to the king for approval, before Padre Junípero's recommendation renewed his interest in it. In course of time the king's approval was received, with authority to provide the funds necessary, and the welcome news was forwarded to the frontier presidio. With his usual promptness Anza began his preparations for the journey, but just as they were completed, a band of Apache raiders appeared in his neighborhood, killed some of his men and carried away part of his horses and pack animals. This delayed his start only a few days, and on January 8, 1774, he took the road.

The expedition at this time was composed of twenty soldiers from Anza's own presidio and one who had

been in California-probably with Portolá-and who had been sent to him by the viceroy to act as guide; an Indian from Lower California, who had been at the mission San Gabriel, but had fled from there in the preceding December with his wife and brother, intending to make his way back to their old home by way of the Colorado. His wife and brother had died of thirst in the Colorado desert, and he reached Sonora in a starved and exhausted condition.* There was also a native of Tubac, a carpenter, one interpreter, five muleteers, two servants, and two Franciscan friars— Fray Juan Diaz and Fray Francisco Garcés-thirtyfour persons in all. The train consisted of one hundred and forty mules,† and sixty-five beef cattle taken along for food. The pack animals carried thirty-five loads of provisions besides ammunition, clothing, and tobacco and trinkets for presents to the Indians they would have to deal with.

One of the friars—Garcés—was one of the most remarkable of the missionary explorers of the Southwest. He was stationed at the mission of San Javier del Bac, between Tubac and Tucson, to which he had been assigned in 1768, when he was only thirty years old. It was a frontier mission, situated near the border of the Apache country, and most exposed to the raids of those far-riding marauders. Though it was but poorly supplied with everything that helps to make life comfortable, Garcés always showed a willingness to

* It was hoped that he might be of service as a guide in the unexplored region which he had so recently crossed, but in this he proved to be disappointing.

[†] Anza's diary says these included "those we calculated to take further on in the pueblo of Caborca," to replace those lost by the Apache raid; but he was disappointed in his expectations, and secured only five worn-out animals there, so that we cannot really tell how large his train was.

divide the little he had with his Indian neighbors and visitors, and so won their confidence; and by going boldly into the rancherias and camps of all the tribes, even of the troublesome Apaches, whenever there was need to minister to the sick, or opportunity to tell them what he had come to tell, he won their admiration. His willingness to make these visits soon led him to make long journeys, going from one camp to another as his ministrations were asked for, or as he found reason to hope that they might be accepted, until his excursions grew to be of notable length. In 1768 he made a trip down the Gila; in 1769 he was in the Apache country, although these Indians were in a most ugly humor during that year; in 1770 he made another trip down the Gila, and in 1771 he traced that river to its junction with the Colorado, which he followed to its disemboguement in the Gulf of California. Returning, he crossed the desert to Caborca, part of the way at least over the Camino del Diablo, which Kino had traveled more than sixty years earlier. In all of these journeys he had gone wholly unattended except by Indian guides, who sometimes deserted him, and once his horse escaped, leaving him alone and almost helpless in the desert, to make his way out of it as best he might. These exploring trips, his acquaintance with the Indian tribes, and the knowledge of the desert thus acquired, made him very useful to Anza, not only as a means of making the acquaintance of such Indian tribes as they would meet for the first time, but as a guide and counselor for the journey.

Hoping to find animals in the pueblos and missions in the neighborhood of Altar to replace those stolen by

the Apaches, Anza went first to that presidio, nearly a hundred and twenty-five miles distant, but was disappointed, being able to procure only five, and those not altogether desirable. So with his resources considerably weakened he set forth toward the forbidding country in which Kino had made his heart-breaking journeys three-quarters of a century earlier. From Altar to the ruined mission of Sonoitac, a distance of one hundred and twenty-two miles, the route lay through an arid country, the ancient home of the Papago Indians, and then inhabited by a gradually lessening number of that tribe. On the southern and eastern side of this region their pueblos were still fairly numerous, but gradually diminished in number, and their inhabitants became fewer and more miserable, as the ground grew more and more sterile toward the Ouitobac and Sonoitac were found almost deserted, their people, men and women and children, being absent in the desert in search of the few herbs principally thistles—which grew there and which they made eatable by boiling. These were their sole means of subsistence.

Beyond Sonoitac, stretching almost to the Gila, over a hundred and forty miles distant, lay a waste of sand and lava bed, with few watering places, producing almost no green thing except in their immediate vicinity, and there but little that afforded pasture for the animals. For the first twenty-three miles the road followed the dry bed of a broad river to ancient Carrizal, where there was a little water and scant pasture. Here began the *Camino del Diablo*, and knowing that he must now travel a long way with water and grass

at rare intervals, Anza divided his party, going on in advance with the horses and cattle, and leaving the pack animals in charge of his corporal and seven soldiers to follow. The first camp was made at the end of a journey of six leagues, at a place where there was neither water nor pasture. Next day after traveling "five or six leagues" they came to a place where they had expected to find water, but this supply was so scant and so difficult to reach, that it was left for the pack animals which would be more in need of it, on account of the burdens they carried, and the journey was continued without it. That night the camp was made at a place where there was little pasture but no water. The next day, after traveling twelve miles they reached the famous Tinajas Altas*—the High Tanks—in the Gila Mountains.

After resting two days at these tanks, the party being again united, crossed the range by a convenient pass, and entered upon another reach of barren desert, sixty miles wide, stretching to the Gila. This they crossed in three days, finding water and some pasture at each camping place. At the Gila they were met by messengers from the Yumas, who escorted them to the principal villages of their tribe near the confluence of that river and the Colorado, where they received a most hospitable reception, as Chief Palma and most

^{*}These tanks are described by W. J. McGee, vice-president of the National Geographic Society, as "a series of water pockets (partly pot holes and partly cataract pools) worn in the gulch bottom by torrents following the rare storms of the region. The lowest and largest is confined partly by great boulders and granite detritus, and is reached by stock; one hundred feet of finger and toe-climbing over smooth rock, leads to two others, and in fifty feet more there is a third; still higher one of the party climbs to a fourth, and thence on to the tenth, stopping at a smooth slope apparently leading to an eleventh basin, holding water the average year around. The National Geographical Magazine, April, 1901.

of his people were anxious to establish good relations with the Spaniards, and particularly to have missions in their neighborhood. After spending a day here, resting their jaded animals, distributing gifts and receiving many evidences of good will in return, the Indians helped them to cross the river, and they entered upon the most difficult part of their journey.

Hitherto their way had been through a country which Kino had crossed on more than one of his journeys, or in which Garcés had wandered enough to know its character, and perhaps to have learned something of its watering places; now they had reached a region which white men had never before visited, for which they had no guide but an Indian who had been dazed by hunger, thirst, and exposure during a large part of the time he had wandered in it, and about which they could learn little from their Indian friends, whose hospitable attentions still followed them. They were abundantly willing to help them as far as able, but the country to be crossed was inhabited by their enemies; they had never seen it and did not dare to venture into it. Anza and his party must invade it alone.

For two days they followed the west bank of the river in order to avoid a wide belt of sand hills, through which traveling would not only have been tedious, but confusing because of the difficulty of keeping direction. Palma and a large party of his retainers attended them, until the last village of his tribe was reached; then having introduced them to the Cojats,* with whom he was on friendly terms, and who inhabited a narrow

^{*} These, Mr. Eldredge thinks were the Cajuenches. The Beginnings of San Francisco, p. 72.

territory between the Yuma country and that of the Comeya-who were his enemies-he reluctantly bade them adieu. The Cojats gave Anza guides for one day's journey, but they left him on the morning of the second, saying they dared go no further. At parting, however, they assured him that the next watering place would be found near the base of a range of hills already visible in advance. How valuable or valueless this assurance might be, he did not know. From this point on the eastern border of the Colorado desert, he must make his way practically without a guide. Garcés had once been on that side of the river, but as events proved had no knowledge of the country that was of value. The Indian who had run away from San Gabriel was no wiser. Anza must go forward alone, and knowing only that the country he aimed to reach, lay toward the northwest.

The water holes which the Cojats had promised he would find so surely proved to have little water—and that of bad quality—and less grass. Something better was found a short distance beyond, and by spending some labor in opening and deepening the holes in which it lay, enough was found to satisfy both men and animals. There was but little grass, and that of very poor quality,* and as the Indians had told him there was a long stretch of desert beyond in which there was no grass, he stopped here for a day in order that the animals, already more than half starved, might have time to eat the little they could find. Hoping perhaps that he was halfway across the sandy waste, Anza named these wells Los Pozos de en Medio.†

^{*} Carrizal, a kind of reed grass in which there is but little nourishment.

[†] The halfway wells.

Starting next morning at seven o'clock the train pushed on about one league to a pool of brackish or alkaline water that afforded no refreshment, and thence to another pool about a league from the last, where the water was somewhat better, though not very desirable. They were now entering a region of loose sand, which the wind whirled into ever-changing heaps, making progress difficult. The exhausted animals made their way through it but slowly, and it was soon evident that some of those carrying packs would be able to go but little further. To relieve them it was decided to leave half their burdens here under guard, and proceed with the remainder, which was done; but the suffering beasts were still unable to keep up with the horses. The sand became deeper as they advanced; their tracks in it were obliterated almost as soon as made, and the hills became thicker and more difficult to cross. The laden mules one by one fell to the rear. It was evident that a number of them would soon be entirely exhausted. To wait for them would be to expose all to the danger of perishing from thirst, for where water would be found, no one knew. All must go back, or some must be abandoned in order that those who were still strongest might get forward more rapidly. The situation was beginning to be desperate.

Anza now consulted the priests about dividing the party, proposing to send half the animals, and half the soldiers back to Palma's rancherías at the mouth of the Gila, where he had reason to believe they would be safely cared for, and then pushing forward with the stronger ones under lightened burdens. In this way he hoped he might be able to complete his undertaking

with success. Diaz approved the plan, but Garcés, the more experienced traveler, opposed; he thought it unwise to divide their strength, and did not think it necessary. Unwilling to disregard his advice, and hoping to overcome his objections, Anza related the experiences of other travelers of whom he had heard, who had encountered similar difficulties, but Garcés' opinion was not changed.

They accordingly toiled on, their difficulties continuing to increase, until they came finally to larger sand hills than they had before encountered. Even the strongest horses could not surmount them with their riders. The mountain range toward which they were traveling, in which they hoped water might be found, although not sure of it, was still some hours distant, though visible. Toward the south there was another range which seemed nearer. Garcés thought he remembered to have seen it on his former visit to the Colorado, and was persuaded that he could find in it Indians whom he knew and who would know where to find water; so it was decided to change direction and try the nearer prospect.

Night had begun to gather when those in advance reached these hills, but they found no Indians and no prospect of water. So sure, however, was Padre Garcés that both were in the neighborhood, that he set off in search of them, while the others prepared to make camp in a sandy waste without either wood, grass, or water. He did not return until the night was well advanced, and with the unwelcome news that he had found nothing. He was still confident that there was a large ranchería within two leagues of where they

were, so giving him the two soldiers whose horses were in best condition, Anza permitted him to go and make further search for it. It was after midnight when he returned with the same disappointing report.

Men and animals had now been one whole day in a sandy waste without water, and for three days without sufficient nourishing food. The strongest were scarcely able to travel; the weakest, among which were most of the pack animals, and some of the cattle, had not come up—were in fact lying exhausted in the desert.

Anza now took council with no one. He did what every really great man does in an emergency; and that was the thing his own best judgment dictated. Water for all and food for the animals must be found within twenty-four hours, or all would be exposed to the extremest danger. He ordered a retreat, and at daylight the return march through the desolate sand hills began.

A large number of the animals had not yet come up. They had gradually fallen behind, as one or another became unable to keep the pace set by the stronger, and the corporal with part of the soldiers had been left to keep them together. They had been halted on the trail, when six horses and mules and three of the cattle gave out and could go no further. On meeting these, Anza directed the corporal to turn them about, and bring even the weakest back to the place called Los Pozos de en Medio—Halfway Wells—if at all possible; and then pushed on with the others. The faithful fellow brought them all in but five, which died on the trail.

Anza's diary does not tell us how far he traveled on this distressing march, though in a note apologizing BAD LANDS IN THE COLORADO DESERT Photograph by United States Geological Survey W. C. Mendenhall. A LUCIO CONTRA

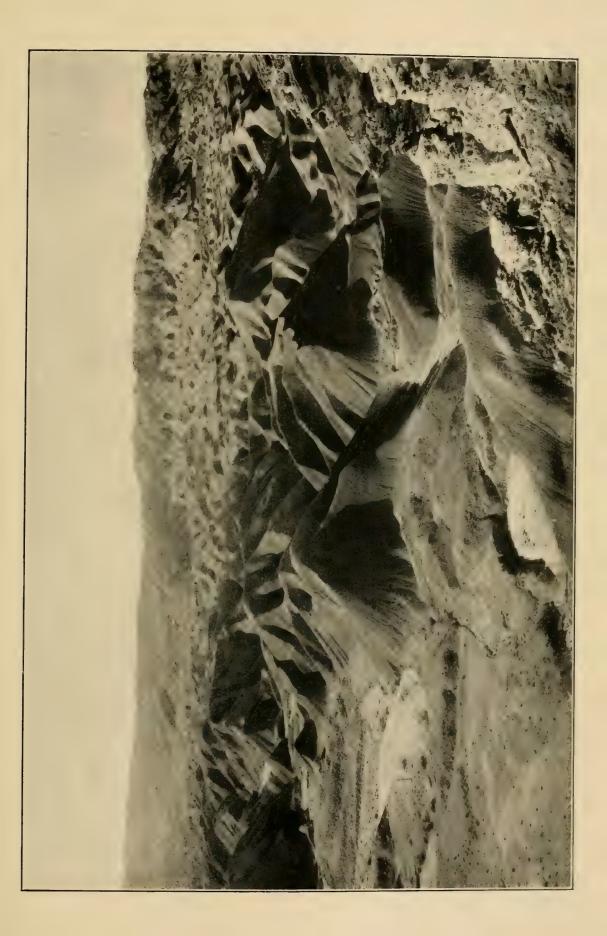
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for the omission, he mentions twenty-five leagues (65 miles) as the probable distance made in the four days his animals were without proper food. The whole, or at least the greater portion of this trying experience was encountered in Lower California, which he had entered soon after crossing the Colorado.

He now resolved to return to the country of the Cojats, where food for the horses, mules and cattle was abundant, and give them time to recuperate. From there he sent for Palma, who joyfully responded to his summons, and finding reason to believe that he might do so with safety, arranged to leave in his charge such of his animals as were not able to continue the journey, and a large part of his baggage, with three soldiers and some of his muleteers and servants, who would not be needed now that his train was reduced to the fewest number consistent with safety. He also permitted Padre Garcés to make a trip down the river, in the hope of getting information from the Indians he would find there, that would help them to find their way; but the padre returned at the end of five days, having learned nothing. No Indians that he had found knew more of that desert, nor perhaps as much, as they themselves had already learned.

Most men, including many who are accustomed to succeed in what they undertake, would have given up, feeling that they had done as much as would be required of them, if placed in the situation that now confronted Anza. It is a serious matter to explore a desert of unknown extent, without guides, with little prospect of finding water in it, or grass for animals; and particularly serious, when the only animals avail-

able are not in good condition for the trying journey. It is more serious for one who, under such circumstances, must become responsible for the lives of all who accompany him. But Anza did not falter, nor did his soldiers. In the most trying part of their recent experience they had assured him of their willingness to make the journey on foot, if their horses failed, and they now repeated the assurance. Relying on their resolutions as well as his own, Anza again turned his face toward the west.

With his party reduced to twenty-seven instead of thirty-four, and taking with them only the strongest horses, mules, and cattle, the loads of the pack animals reduced to the barest necessities, the journey was resumed on the afternoon of March 2d. A route lying still farther south than before was taken in order to avoid the sand hills, and because it was hoped to reach the mountains, where they were certain to find water more quickly than by the other. A Cojat Indian guide was procured next day, to lead the way to the nearest water holes, and at his suggestion the start was delayed until one o'clock, as the journey was to be long and difficult, and they hoped in that way to make it more comfortably. Camp was made the first night in a barren spot where there was neither water nor grass, the guide promising that they should reach both before noon next day. In order to make sure of doing so the march was resumed before daybreak and continued, league after league, until nightfall, when they arrived at some pot holes where there was a little water and but scant supply of grass. The water was soon exhausted and half the poor animals had got none of it. These had



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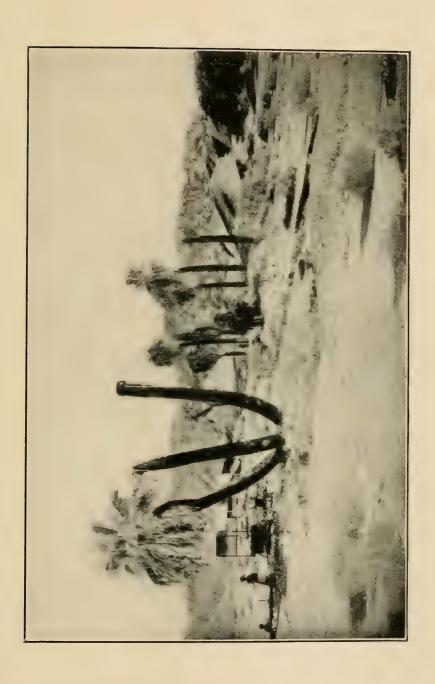
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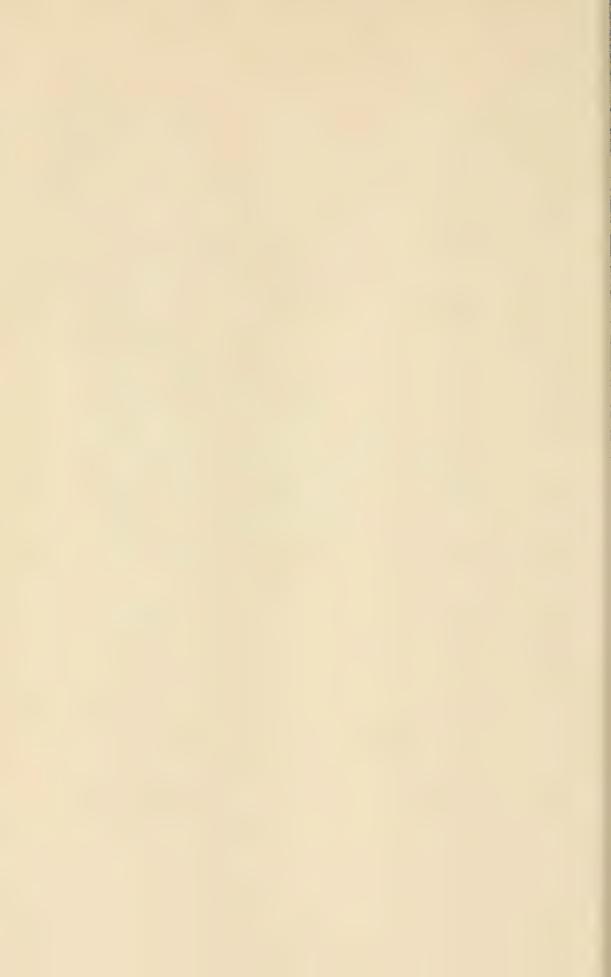
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now been thirty-six hours without food or water, and during that time had traveled seventy miles, a large part of the way over loose sand, through which their progress had been most exhausting. Their condition was pitiful, and that of all was serious. To increase the perplexity and discomfort of Anza's situation, he found next morning that his Cojat guide had deserted him.

As water must be found, and quickly, the corporal and five soldiers whose horses were in best condition, were started out before day, to explore for it in advance, as the guide had confidently asserted it was near. No word came from them until noon, and at two o'clock the others started on their trail, hoping soon to overtake them, or receive word that they had found what they had been sent to search for. At the end of three weary leagues two of them were met, with the welcome news that they had found good water and some pasture only one league beyond. It was reached after nightfall, with many of the animals nearly famished with both hunger and thirst. Next morning the scouting party was again sent out, and following them as before, the main party camped that night, after a hard march, where there was some pasture but no water. They were, however, cheered by the information obtained from some Indians that there was good water in abundance only a short distance beyond, and after a hard march next morning, they found this to be true.

Up to this point the general direction followed had been a little north of west. At the start they were ten or twelve miles south of the present boundary line; they were now four or five miles north of it, and hereor just before reaching here—they turned almost directly north, and kept that direction to the San Jacinto Mountains, the western wall of the desert. At the end of their first march in this direction they were compelled to make camp where there was no water and but little grass, and the following day they traveled eighteen miles, most of the way through sand hills, where the suffering animals showed so much distress that the soldiers dismounted and traveled on foot in order to relieve them. Shortly after noon they arrived at a marsh, the sink of the San Felipe River, where both water and grass were abundant, but so alkaline as to afford little refreshment. Most of the animals were made sick by the water or grass at this place, and two of them died in consequence.

The most difficult part of the journey was now finished. The desert was passed, and after resting until three o'clock on the following afternoon they resumed their march, going up the valley along the dry bed of the river, finding their advance much obstructed by such debris as the floods which fill it during the rainy season had left there. They found but little food for their animals during the first day, but leaving camp an hour before dawn on the next, they soon turned into the valley of Coyote Creek, where the gentlysloping ground was less obstructed, and traveling was more comfortable. At the end of six leagues they made an early camp where there was abundance of pure cool water, and better pasture for their hungry animals than they had found since leaving Tubac. Here they remained a whole day, and then with their animals much refreshed by rest and an abundant supply of grass and water, they resumed their journey with spirits renewed.

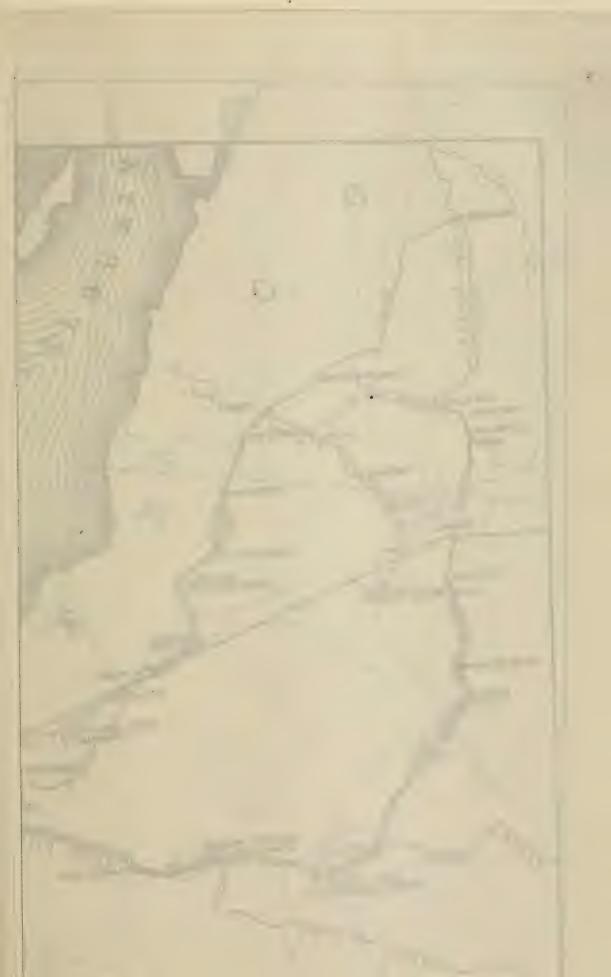
They were now climbing the southern slope of the San Jacinto range, and from Monday morning until Tuesday evening, when they reached the summit, their way led through many windings, up a pleasant valley where water was frequently found in cool flowing streams, and grass was abundant and often luxurious. The valley gradually diminished in width as they progressed, sometimes narrowing but again opening out with an inviting prospect, and then narrowing again, each time into something more nearly resembling a gorge or cañon, until the summit was reached. The streams were frequently bordered with luxuriant willows, or poplars, while a variety of trees shaded the valleys here and there, and oaks and pines covered the hillsides—a most agreeable change from the blinding glare of the treeless desert. At the summit they were delayed some hours by rain and snow, and at the entrance to the cañon of the San Jacinto River beyond it they were compelled to cut a road for more than a league through the jungle.

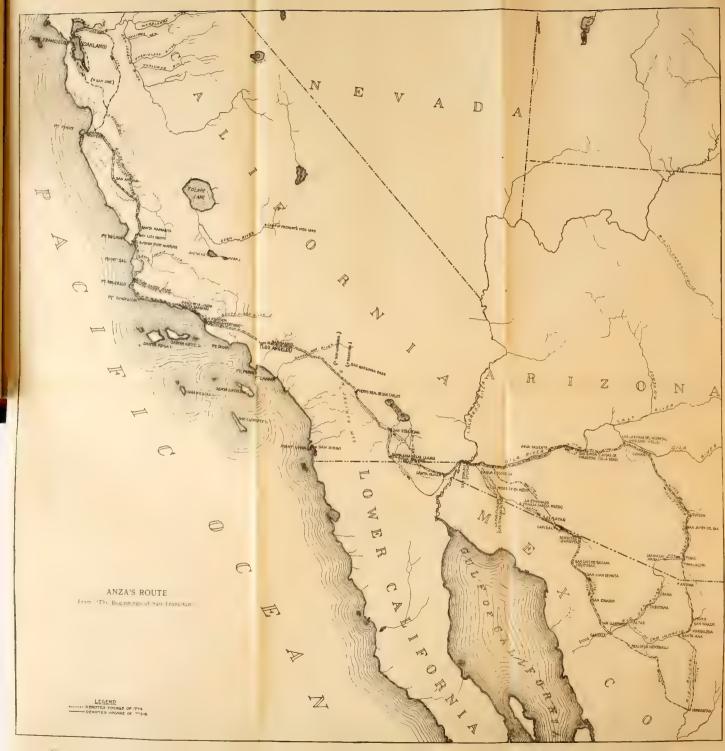
Having passed the crest, at an elevation of nearly 5000 feet, and at the cost of some discomfort from the mountain storms, they entered the Hemet Valley, and thence followed down the mountain to the Santa Ana River, which Portolá had crossed much nearer the ocean in 1769. All the way they were surrounded by the most luxuriant verdure—trees, flowers, and vines. Birds of many varieties gladdened the eye with their plumage, or the ear with their music. Anza grew al-

most eloquent in describing the scene, and quite so in naming a valley leading down to the San Jacinto river, calling it La Cañada del Paraíso—the Valley of Paradise.* They were obliged to build a bridge across the Santa Ana, which they completed in a few hours on the afternoon of March 20th. Crossing it with their train next morning, they traveled for two days through a very pleasant country, and now regarded as one of the most favored in all the world, arriving at San Gabriel Mission at sunset, March 22d.

Their coming had been unannounced, until Anza sent his corporal a few hours in advance to notify the padres of his coming. Thus prepared, the padres received them with every evidence of greatest joy. The mission bells were rung and a Te Deum was sung, as the best expression of their feelings that the poor lonely missionaries knew how to make. Their unexpected visitors had come by an all land route from New Spain; they were no longer dependent upon the ships for news and supplies from the country which they regarded as home. The sea no longer divided them from their kind, from civilization, and from their college which stood in the place of a mother to them. They were exiles no longer, but living in their own country—on its remote border, its furthest outpost to be

^{*} Mr. Z. S. Eldredge has very carefully traced out Anza's route across the San Jacinto range, following it from the sink of the San Felipe, up Coyote Creek, through Horse Cañon to Vandeventer Flat, and thence by the San Carlos Pass to the Santa Ana. The Beginnings of San Francisco p. 87-89. Fray Zephyrin Englehardt, the second volume of whose monumental work, Missions and Missionaries of California, has only recently come from the press, and who spent a year as a missionary in the neighborhood of San Carlos Pass, as well as Rev. Florian Hahn, superintendent of the Catholic Indian school at Banning, who spent nearly twenty years in the neighborhood, confirms Mr. Eldredge's findings. It had previously been supposed that Anza had come by the San Gorgonio Pass, through which the Southern Pacific Railroad crosses the range, which is twenty-five miles further north.





sure, but still their own. "They questioned me repeatedly about the journey," says Anza, "and tears of joy started from their eyes at seeing this expedition accomplished, and knowing how near Sonora really was and how easy was the journey from it."

The stout captain of Tubac and his troopers were not without a part in the joys of the occasion. When they remembered those weary days in the desert, their almost hopeless wanderings in search of water, the bewildering sand hills, their fainting animals, their own sufferings from thirst, and the uncertainty that they would ever again find their way back to the world they had left—the world of trees and flowers; of cool fountains and flowing streams—the spring freshness of the famous San Gabriel Valley was like that paradise which they seemed to have entered at San Jacinto Lake, and their own eyes were not unmoistened. Pride swelled their stout hearts also when they remembered that they had conquered the desert, and done what they had set out to do; for though their enterprise was not yet finished, its result was no longer doubtful. The way from Sonora to California was open.

The joy of the good padres was darkened when they remembered the scanty entertainment they would be able to give these strangers, whose arrival was so welcome. It was a time of privation at San Gabriel and all the other missions. The San Carlos, with her cargo of supplies, had broken her rudder some time after leaving San Blas during the preceding season, and after being driven by adverse winds far to the south, had made her way back to Loreto with difficulty, and there

unloaded. No way had been found to send forward by land the supplies so essential to those in the far north, and for eight months the missionaries and their Indian converts had been living on short allowance. For thirty-seven days those at San Carlos had "not so much as a crumb of bread or a tortilla"; and when Anza arrived at San Gabriel the missionaries were living on an allowance of three corn cakes each per day, "and the wild herbs which each seeks for himself."* It was the time when as Father Crespi wrote, the missionaries hoped "and tightened their cords."

Anza's own supplies were running short, for he had left all but barely enough to feed his soldiers until they should reach this mission, in Palma's care on the Colorado. He must replenish his stock from some source before he could go on to Monterey, and San Gabriel could give him nothing. He must try San Diego.

The padres had received news, only three days before, that the Santiago had arrived there, and after consulting with them and with Padres Garcés and Diaz, it was arranged to send some soldiers thither, with such animals of his own, and such as the mission could furnish, to bring up as much as both would require until they could be provided in the regular way. The captain hoped also to secure some fresh horses there for his journey to Monterey.

He expected that Rivera, the new comandante, would have arrived there, as the priests had heard of his appointment but had not heard of his arrival in the country; if so he supposed he would have no trouble

^{*} Anza's diary, Wednesday, March 23, 1774.

in procuring what he required. Accordingly he dispatched four soldiers with seven mules, hoping they would bring back enough to enable him to return over a new and more direct route from Monterey to New Spain. In this he was disappointed; for at the end of eleven days this party returned bringing only a beggarly supply, part of which had been damaged and the remainder not suitable to his needs. On making a calculation he found that even if it were possible to use it all, it would not suffice for more than sixteen days for his whole party. He therefore resolved to send the two priests, with all of his troopers but six back to the Colorado, and with the six push on to Monterey. In this way he could send a report of what he had already accomplished, to the viceroy more promptly than by sending letters via Loreto, and at the same time could complete what remained to be done with his reduced escort.

Leaving the returning party to begin their journey as soon as they could prepare to do so, Anza with the six remaining soldiers, set out for Monterey over the trail which Portolá had explored, and which was now beginning to be well marked. There had been much rainy weather during his stay of nearly three weeks at San Gabriel, but the trail was in fair condition for traveling, and he was able to make from twelve to sixteen leagues a day until he reached Monterey. Here he was received by Comandante Fages, and the troops at the presidio, with as many demonstrations of joy, though perhaps of a different sort, as by the priests at San Gabriel. As soon as news of his arrival could be sent to San Carlos, Padre Palou came to visit him,

and he returned the visit next day, not only to return the courtesy shown, but to see this, the most remote of all the missions in the northern possessions of the king.

Both at the mission and the presidio, provisions were scarcer than they had been at San Gabriel, and the padres bewailed much their inability to give their most welcome visitor more hospitable entertainment.

In spite of the difficulties he had encountered and overcome, with such a narrow margin between success and failure, Anza and all concerned now believed that the road which he had explored would become an entirely practicable highway of communication between Sonora and Monterey. At his suggestion, Fages sent six soldiers to accompany him as far as the Colorado on his return, to learn the way, to note the landmarks of the several watering places, and so equip themselves to guide trains to and from Sonora as occasion might require.

His return journey was made without special incident, over the route which he had come, excepting that he took a more direct course across the desert, cutting off a part of the great detour he had made toward the south, between the lands of the Cojats and the mountains. This he did by making a forced march of twenty-two leagues, or more than fifty-seven miles, and going nearly twenty-four hours without water.

Both the Cojats and Yumas received him with as many demonstrations of joy as before, coming out in throngs to meet him, when they learned of his approach. At the first opportunity he sent word to Palma to come to him, and that worthy responded with alacrity, giving assurance that he was ready to account for all the animals and goods left in his keeping even to the smallest item, although the soldiers and others who had remained behind had returned to Tubac some time before, on hearing a false report that Anza and his party had been overtaken by disaster.

The river was now at flood, and was crossed with more difficulty than on the outward journey, when it was at its lowest. Palma, however, had been making arrangements for it, and had already prepared a raft. though of rather flimsy construction, on which he and his people ferried them over; swarms of them surrounding it, and by wading or swimming, safely convoyed it to the opposite shore. The two priests and their party, who had been sent back to San Gabriel were waiting their arrival in Palma's camp, having made the journey in safety and arrived there some days earlier. As promised, Palma delivered up everything the expedition had left behind when preparing for its second and successful effort to cross the desert, even producing a hatchet which had been stolen by some renegade member of his own or a neighboring tribe, and which he had recovered.

Again the party was embarrassed by the hospitable attentions of Palma and his tribesmen. Anza was not disposed to tarry long for this sort of entertainment, but when Fages' six men were ready to start homeward, it was reported that some of the uncontrollable members of the Cojat tribe were planning to rob them of their horses, and although there did not seem to be much danger that they would attempt it, he decided to wait until sure that they were beyond danger. This delayed him for two days, when, having assured himself that

they were well beyond reach of danger from that source, he took up his march along the south shore of the Gila, and arrived safely at his own presidio, on May 27th, having been gone therefrom a little less than five months.

During that time he had demonstrated that California was accessible from New Spain—the thing Kino had believed and so valiantly struggled to prove in his time. The route followed did not seem to be as direct as might perhaps be laid across the two hundred and ninety-four leagues he had traveled by the way of his return, but it is in fact about as short as could be found. Its length was not its principal objection. Dearth of water and the toilsome sand hills of the Colorado desert were the great obstacles to any practicable use of it, though Anza appears not to have regarded them seriously after he had twice overcome them. He was shortly to make another and more striking proof of the practicability of the route.

CHAPTER IX. FIRST SETTLERS FOR SAN FRANCISCO



was to the affairs of California, his interest was further quickened when he received Anza's report sent from San Gabriel, of having successfully explored the way as far as that mission; and by the time the captain had returned to his presidio, had formed, or was forming plans for a new and still more important expedition to the great bay, which was still unexplored. The road to it by land was now known and open, and as was his custom, he promptly resolved to make use of it.

Two whole years had passed since Croix and Gálvez had so urgently felt the need of occupying it in some way, that they had ordered two priests to be left there with a temporary guard of sailors, until means could be devised to hold it more firmly; but the order had not been carried into effect. The viceroy had himself directed Rivera, in August, 1773, when giving his general instructions as comandante, to survey it by means of another land expedition; but that dilatory officer had found convenient excuses for delay, and nothing had been heard from him. He had, however, complied with his instructions in a feeble way. In the preceding November, more than six months after he had reached his new post of duty, and fifteen after his orders had been received, he got ready for a trip of one hundred and twenty-six miles, over a road already known. Taking with him sixteen soldiers, Padre Palou, and a muleteer in charge of a pack train, with provisions for forty days, and following much the same route that Fages had taken on his first exploration, he turned toward the west on sighting the bay, and on the 28th reached the ground on which Portolá had camped in 1769, near San Francisquito Creek. Here his party was visited by Indians who were so well disposed, and the region in which they lived so inviting, that both he and Padre Palou pronounced it a desirable place to found a mission. They accordingly agreed to mark it with a cross, and one was prepared and set up with the usual ceremonies. "We added our good wishes," says Father Palou in his journal, "that on the same spot a church might be erected in honor of my Seraphic Father Saint Francis, whom I named as my intercessor, in order that His Divine Majesty might grant me to see it in my day."

On the 30th they resumed their journey, over Portolá's trail through the San Andrés Valley toward the northwest, stopping now and again to climb the neighboring hills in order to view the land in which they were, and examine the bay lying toward the east and north. Higher hills prevented their seeing the Golden Gate until December I, when Rivera and four soldiers caught sight of it from the top of a higher elevation than they had climbed before, and on which they appear to have remained all night. Rain then delayed their movements for a day or two, during which Father Palou could not celebrate the mass, because the wind blew so violently that he could not keep candles burning. Better weather permitted them to resume their march on the 4th, when they crossed the hills to Lake Merced. From there Rivera with Padre Palou and four soldiers, crossed over the hills and sand dunes to the ocean shore, along which they went northward to the Seal Rocks; then climbing a hill immediately before them they

found themselves at the entrance to the harbor. They were on Point Lobos, which was then three hundred and eighty-one feet high, and believing they were standing where no white man had even stood before,* they determined to mark the place with a cross. Accordingly "some strong round timber" was selected, Palou says, a cross was made and set up at high noon, "on a spot which could be seen from the shore," and the party returned to camp.

Satisfied with what he had so far done Rivera returned to Monterey by the shore route, and Padre Palou reported to the father president that he had seen, during the journey, no less than six places that would be suitable for missions. On any of the six he would have been happy to plant the one mission that he and all his associates so ardently wished to see founded; but the secular authorities, who alone determined such matters, were not yet ready.

But far away in his capital Bucareli was sparing no means to do what all had failed to do thus far. These means had been considerably increased during the preceding year. The court at Madrid, alarmed by the reports of the southward advance of the Russian fur traders along the coast, had sent experienced officers of the royal navy to command new exploring expeditions, and a new ship had been provided to be used for that and other purposes with the older ones. Among these officers were Captain Bruno Heceta,† who was to have chief command, Lieutenants Fernando Quiros and Miguel Manrique of the royal navy, and

† Sometimes spelled Ezeta.

^{*} It is more than likely that Ortega was there in 1769, though there is no proof of it.

Lieutenants Juan Francisco de Bodega y Cuadra and Juan de Ayala, who were a grade lower in rank. The new ship was the *Sonora*, sometimes called the *Felicidad*.

The Santiago and Sonora were made ready for northern explorations under command of Heceta and Bodega, while the San Carlos and San Antonio, after carrying the necessary supplies for the soldiers and missionaries to San Diego and Monterey, were also to engage in exploring operations on the California coast. All these new officers were made acquainted with the urgent desire of the king and viceroy, to have the great bay explored and surveyed to its utmost extremity, and its connections with the ocean—if it really had more than one—discovered. One of them, Miguel Manrique, who was to command the San Carlos, was especially charged with the latter duty, after he should land his cargo of supplies at Monterey.

The four ships sailed from San Blas on the same day, in March, 1775, the Santiago and Sonora for the far north, and the two older vessels for San Diego and Monterey. Don Miguel Manrique became insane just after the fleet sailed and was returned to shore; but Don Juan Manuel de Ayala, who took his place as captain of the San Carlos, successfully accomplished all that he was charged to do, though under difficulties. Shortly after sailing, it was found that his crazy predecessor had left some loaded pistols in his cabin, and in some way one of them was accidentally discharged, the bullet entering Ayala's foot. The wound made it impossible for him to take a very active part in the survey, but his lieutenant, Don José de Cañizares, accomplished it successfully under his direction.

On reaching Monterey and while discharging his cargo, Ayala set some of his men to construct a boat by hollowing out the trunk of a convenient redwood found near the mission in Carmel Bay, for use in his survey. It was completed by July 26th, when, having made some repairs to his ship, he set off for the Golden Gate, which the San Carlos, the first ship sent with settlers to the coast of California, was to be the first to enter.

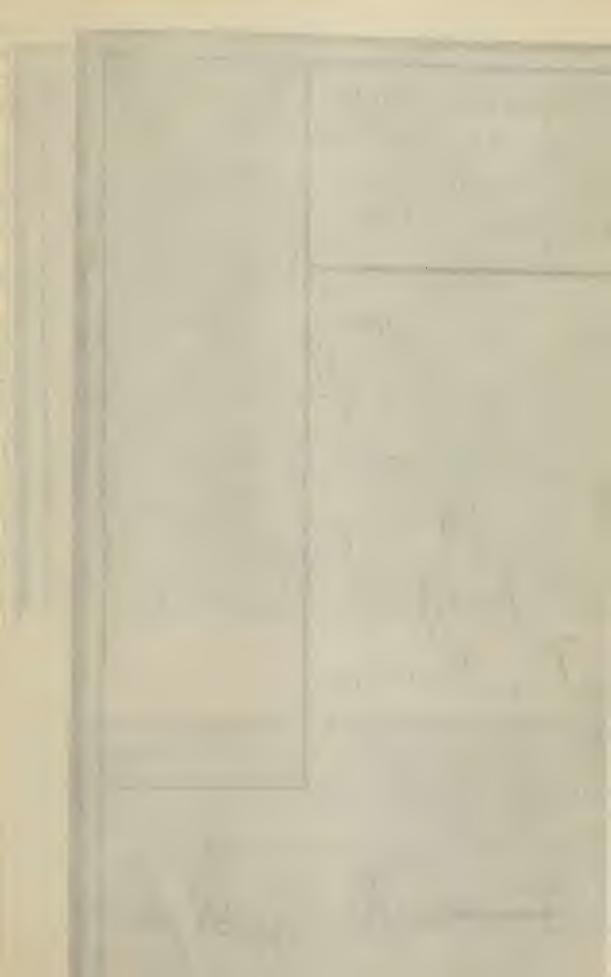
It was the 4th of August before the southernmost Farallon was passed and the entrance sighted at six o'clock in the afternoon. As no one yet knew what rocks might be hidden near it, nor how difficult the entrance might be, the ship was held off shore until morning. At five a.m. on the 5th it was inside the Farallones, the four northernmost of which bore north-northwest, and appeared to be about four leagues distant. At eight, as the entrance was near, the launch was lowered and manned, and Pilot Cañizares was sent inside to find an anchorage. At nine, a strong current setting off shore began to carry the ship out to sea, but at eleven, it was found to be urging them in the opposite direction. Evidently these sailors had made no calculations as to the time of the tides, and were quite unprepared to take advantage of them. All that day the ship lay off the entrance without being able to get in, though the wind was from the west. Late in the afternoon soundings were taken, showing plenty of water, so no anxiety was felt on that account. At eight-thirty p. m. the tide set out so strongly that with all sails set, and the wind blowing strong from the southwest, the ship could not make more than a mile and a half per hour

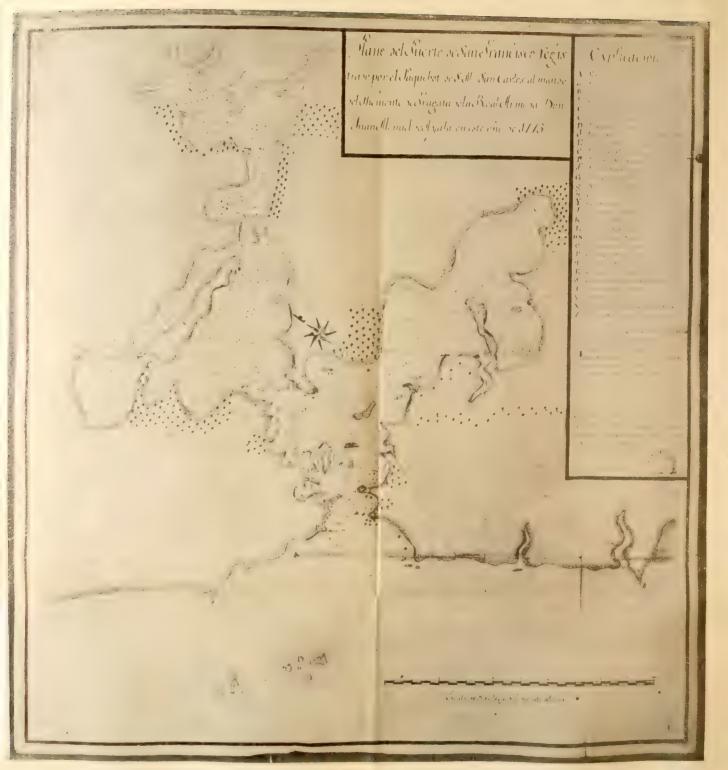
against it; which showed, as Ayala thought, that "the current must go at least six miles at the middle of the channel."* Seafaring men of that day were not as well informed as now in regard to the ebb and flow of tides, the variation in their force likely to be caused by the shore lines, and their effect on the depth of narrow channels connecting the ocean with large bays and inland seas. Had they been Ayala and and his officers, would have known better what currents they were likely to encounter, and have been less anxious about the depth of water when once at the entrance. At it was, the swiftness of the current, the fact that the launch had not yet returned to guide them to some safe anchorage, and that night was again upon them, made them extremely anxious for their safety. They were obliged to keep all sail set to make way against the current; the lead was thrown continuously as they approached the entrance, and until they were well within, when to their surprise there seemed to be no bottom; a line of sixty brazas† with a twenty-pound lead, did not touch, which seemed very strange until they realized that the current was carrying the lead along with it.

When about a league, as they thought, within the entrance the wind failed them, and the tide had begun to ebb. The current was now carrying them out to sea again, and as they were not more than a quarter of a mile off shore, an anchor was thrown over, having first secured it firmly to the mast, so that in case it did not reach bottom, it would not be lost. To their

^{*} Log of the San Carlos, August 6th.

[†] Brazas, fathoms.





AYALA'S MAP OF SAN FRANCISCO BAY
Photograph from the original in India Office, Seville, for "The March of Portola"

great relief, it held, though two others were made ready for use in case it should drag, which it did not. Their lead now showed twenty-two fathoms.

At six o'clock next morning the launch and its party appeared. They had found a favorable anchorage, but in attempting to go back to the ship and report, they had been caught by the tide and forced back: they had repeated the attempt a few hours later with a similar result, and so accomplished nothing until the ship got in without their assistance.

During the day an anchorage to their liking was found in a bay, which Ayala called Carmelita,* because in it was rock resembling a friar of that order. A few days later a change was made to a sheltered nook of Angel Island where the ship remained until September 7th—while Pilot Cañizares with a party of sailors in the launch, and the dugout, "observed, saw, surveyed and sounded" the whole bay, from its most southern extension to the mouth of the Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers, and made a map of it. Ayala was unable to leave the ship because of his wounded foot, but in making the entrance, he named several prominent landmarks that are now familiar, and well known the world over, although some of the names have since been changed. Point Lobos he called Punta del Angel de la Guarda; Fort Point he named San José; Point Bonita† was called Santiago; Lime Point he called San Carlos; the large island near the entrance to Richardson's Bay, he called La Nuestra Señora de los Angeles-it is still called Angel Island-and Alcatraz

^{*} Now Richardson's Bay.
† According to Professor Davidson this point was so named because of its resemblance to the cap, or bonete, worn by some of the Catholic clergy.

was named Isla de Alcatraces because of the large number of pelicans which made their home on it.* During the four trips made by Cañizares, while surveying the harbor, he named San Pablo Bay, Bahía Redondo, or Round Bay; Southampton Bay he called Puerto de la Asumpta, because he first saw it on the festival day of the Assumption; Point San Pedro, Punta de Langosta, Locust Point; Point Richmond, Punta de San Antonio; and Point Avisadero, Punta de Concha. In his report he describes all the more striking features of the bay in considerable detail.

Avala had been informed that Anza was coming north with a second expedition, and thought it possible that he might arrive before his survey was completed. Rivera had also promised to send a party to meet him in the bay, and he kept a sharp lookout for both during his stay, but saw neither. Anza had not started on his second march, and Rivera easily found a reason for not keeping his engagement. Unaware of the comandante's habit of procrastination, Ayala sent his second mate Don Juan B. Aguirre, across to the San Francisco side to meet his promised party at the time agreed upon, but he failed to find it or any sign of it. He did find some Indian women crying beside a little cove afterwards known as Mission Bay, and named it Ensenada de los Llorones, Bay of the Weepers; Anza a few months later and apparently without any reference to what the cove had been called, and perhaps without knowing it had been named at all, named a little rivulet near by it, Arroyo de los Dolores because he first saw it on the Friday before Palm Sunday.

^{*} Alcatraz, pelican.

Soon after his safe arrival inside the Golden Gate, Ayala deposited a letter at the foot of the cross which Rivera and Father Palou had planted on Sutro Heights, to inform members of either of these parties who should find it, of his safe arrival, and of the spot where he intended to anchor, so that they might know where to look for him; and as he was about to leave, he left another message in the same place, telling of his departure. Then he started away to Monterey, and thence to San Blas.

The ships of the exploring expedition under command of Heceta and Bodega had meantime proceeded directly north, until they reached what they supposed to be the latitude where Aguilar had turned back in 1602, and then turned toward shore, in search of a convenient harbor in which to find wood and water. Not finding what they sought, they followed the shore southward, to a comfortable anchorage in a small bay under a lofty headland, which they sighted June 9th. Two days later they landed a party which took formal possession, with the usual ceremonies of raising a cross, unfurling the Spanish colors, and celebrating the mass. honor of the day they called the place Trinity Bay, a name it still retains. After remaining more than a week here, during which the country about the bay was explored for some distance toward the interior, the water casks were refilled, their supply of wood was replenished, and one of the ships furnished with new topmasts, when they sailed away on their course again.

When Heceta returned some weeks later, having accomplished little in the north, he attempted to enter the Golden Gate, but was unable to do so on account of

He was a timid sailor, and had narrowly missed a great discovery during his absence, because of that defect in his character. He had found and named the two capes guarding the entrance of the great river we know as the Columbia; had observed the broad expanse of fresh water, always easily observable in the neighborhood, and was well aware that it indicated the presence of a river of magnitude, but did not even attempt to enter it, and sailed for home doubting whether it might not after all be the strait which De Fuca had found nearly two hundred years earlier. He had been looking for that also, but had not found it, although evidently he had been very near it.

After reaching Monterey he resolved to visit the great bay by a land expedition, and did so in September, taking with him some soldiers from the presidio, some sailors from his ship and Fathers Campa and Palou. He also took with him a small canoe procured from the northern Indians, which was carried by a mule. The route taken was that which Rivera had followed in the preceding year. On the shore near the Seal Rocks they found the canoe which Ayala had used in his survey of the harbor, half filled with water and sand and its oars lying near by. At the foot of the cross they found buried the two messages which he had left there; but further than this the expedition accomplished nothing.

Meantime Bodega, whom Heceta had left in the north, returned down the coast, and discovered and named Bodega Bay, October 3d, but did not explore it to its limit. He, however, entered it and dropped anchor, but was obliged to leave on the day following because of stormy weather.

The Santiago and Sonora were reunited at Monterey a few days later and sailed thence for San Blas November 1st. Two days later Juan Perez, who was the first officer on the Santiago with Heceta, died and was buried at sea. He had commanded the San Antonio on her first voyage to San Diego with "the sacred expedition," and every year since that time he had commanded one or the other of the supply ships, bringing provisions to Monterey. All the missionaries regarded him highly, and a year later when they learned his fate, they celebrated a requiem mass for the repose of his soul. Captain Vila of the San Carlos, and Doctor Pedro Prat had preceded him; the pioneers were beginning to depart on their last long journey.

While thus taking effective means to explore the great bay, the viceroy also arranged to take firm possession of it, and plant there that "constant and sure sign indicating the authority of the King." For this duty he had selected Anza, who had given such sure proof that he could be relied on to do things. Summoning him to the capital in July, he honored him with promotion to the rank of lieutenant-colonel, and then charged him with a new and more important duty than he had yet performed. This was to enlist a company of thirty soldiers, ten of whom were to be veterans from the Sonora presidios; and twenty recruits, all of whom should have families, with a view to their becoming settlers at the expiration of ten years of service. These he was to escort with a guard of ten men from his own presidio, over the new road he had recently surveyed, to the far-away bay, where he was to establish a presidio and near it two missions. Then he was to

explore the port itself and the rivers emptying into it more thoroughly than had yet been done. This Anza, with his usual promptness, proceeded to do.

The king offered outfits for each family, with rations for all during the term of enlistment, and a prospect of a home at its expiration; and also provided means of transportation to the new field. The twenty families required were soon secured and assembled at the rendezvous. The sergeant, ensign, and eight soldiers, who were to form the veteran portion of the new settlement, together with the ten soldiers who were to act as a guard during the journey and then return with him to Tubac, Anza took from his own presidio. Four families, the heads of which were not enlisted as soldiers,* also arranged to go with the party. These were to receive pay and rations for themselves and families until they reached California.

By September all were at Horcasitas and ready to begin the journey. They were not to cross Sonora by the direct route to the junction of the Gila and Colorado, as Anza had done on his former journey; but would go north by way of Tubac to the Gila, and then follow it to the larger river. In this way the privations of the desert between Sonoita and the Gila Mountains—the terrible *Camino del Diablo*—would be avoided. The outfitting of the party was also to be completed at Tubac.

When everything was ready to begin the march, as it was early in September, the troublesome Apaches swept down like wolves on the fold, as they had done on the former expedition, and ran off the horses belong-

^{*}One of them consisted of a widow with two children.

ing to the guard at Tubac, delaying their departure for a few days. It was necessary to wait until horses could be sent to replace those which had been stolen, and fetch the guard to Horcasitas before the party could set off. This delayed the start from the 7th to the 29th of September. Finally all being in readiness, the march was begun on the day last named.

We have few details of the journey from Horcasitas to Tubac, the official starting point of the expedition. The road taken led through a narrow cañon ten miles in length in one place. It was near the country of the dreaded Apaches, and all precautions against falling into an ambush, in a place offering so many advantages for an attack of that kind, were taken as they neared it. The long train of pack animals with their burdens of supplies, the large number of noncombatants, and the smallness of their guard, all tended to make the party a tempting object of attack in such a place; but the Apaches, though frequently in sight, did not, for some reason see fit to trouble them and the cañon was passed in safety.

Tubac, distant from Horcasitas seventy leagues, was reached October 16th. There another annoying wait was made necessary because the family of Sergeant Grijalva was at another presidio, to which it was necessary to send for them before a start could be made. Finally all was ready and on Sunday, October 22d, a final mass was sung "with all possible solemnity, for the purposes of invoking divine aid for the expedition," the Santísima Virgen de Guadalupe, in her Invocation of the Immaculate Conception, the princes San Miguel and San Francisco de Asis were named its protectors,

and the march was then begun at eleven o'clock. The party now consisted of the commander, with Ensign Don José Moraga, Sergeant Juan Pablo Grijalva, thirty-eight soldiers—ten of whom were to return to Tubac-twenty-nine women and one hundred and thirty-six other persons belonging to the families of the soldiers, and including the four families of independent settlers, fifteen muleteers, three vaqueros, seven servants, five interpreters, and a guide; also three priests, one of whom, Fray Pedro Font, was the official chaplain, scientist, and diarist of the expedition, and Padres Garcés and Tomás Esaire.* There were also one hundred and forty mules carrying provisions, ammunition, baggage, and presents for the Indians, twenty-five mules belonging to the troops, three hundred horses, and three hundred and twenty cattle, some of which were to be killed for beef as the expedition required it, and some were to increase the stock at the missions.

Padres Garcés and Esaire were to go with the expedition as far as the junction of the Gila and Colorado, where they were to remain for a time to teach the Yumas, though Garcés was charged with the duty of making some important explorations, for which he had already proved his fitness.

The train composed of two hundred and forty persons, men, women, and children, and eight hundred and twenty-five animals, made a short march of only four leagues on its first day. That night a child was born in the camp, and its mother died, though the

^{*} This name is also spelled in various other ways—Coues giving eight different forms of it in his Trail of a Spanish Pioneer—Garcés Diary.

child lived. Seven other children were born during the march, and this one poor woman was the only member of the party lost between Tubac and Monterey. Padre Garcés with four soldiers took the body on the following day for burial to his mission, San Javier del Bac, nine leagues in advance of where the party then was.

From this point to the Gila and thence to the Colorado the journey was not specially eventful. Anza managed everything with military regularity. The column was formed at a fixed hour every morning, unless delayed by bad weather, the sickness of some member of the party, or some accident, and moved off in order, four soldiers going in advance as scouts to explore the way and give warning if any danger threatened; then Anza himself, followed by the priests, and behind them the men, women and children escorted by the soldiers, Ensign Moraga having charge of the rear guard. Behind them came the cattle and the pack train. When all was ready Padre Font would strike up the Alabado, in the singing of which all heartily joined, and the long procession began the day's march. When the place selected for the next camp was reached, the thirteen tents were pitched-nine for the women and children, two for the priests, one for the ensign, and a larger one for the comandante—while the soldiers made shelters for themselves with their cloaks and blankets. The muleteers and the servants unloaded the pack train and secured the animals for the night, while the herders attended to the cattle; supper was cooked and eaten, and then the tired travelers, after telling their beads, and perhaps singing a hymn, as each family or party felt inclined, betook themselves to their slumbers. It was a very orderly party, and more attentive to the observance of religion than many that crossed the broad region between the Missouri and the ocean after 1842, and yet there were many like it.

At Maricopa Wells on November 3d, several members of the party and many of the animals were made sick by the alkaline water, and two horses died. Two of the women were at one time thought to be dying. Their condition and that of others, as well as that of the animals, made it difficult to move from the place, and they were detained there three days. Their situation was perplexing. Before them lay fourteen leagues of sandy country in which there was no water; it must be crossed in one march, or else a night must be passed in which all must suffer severely. So many persons and animals were sick that even a short march would be difficult. During the three days of waiting some water had been brought from the Gila, three leagues distant, but this could not be continued. The party must move or perish, and Anza ordered the march resumed.

Setting out a little after midday on the 7th, and after covering about seven leagues—about eighteen miles—they made camp for the night without water. The sick women continued very ill, and some of the animals showed evident signs of suffering. The march was resumed early next morning, and about four o'clock in the afternoon the hard trip was ended, though all the cattle did not reach camp until late at night.

Along the valley of the Gila from this point to the

Colorado, the Indians cultivated considerable areas of land, growing wheat, maize, and thousands of water melons and calabazas.* At some of the rancherías so many melons were given the travelers that they could eat only a part of them. At their last camp among the Cojats, or Cajuenches, beyond the Colorado, they were obliged to leave more than two thousand melons that they would have relished greatly a few days later in the desert.

At the junction of the rivers, Palma and his Yumas received them joyfully, and entertained them as liberally as they had entertained the exploring expedition one year and nine and a half months before. They were as ready to lend assistance, but were reluctant to believe that so many women and children, with so much baggage and so many animals could cross the river. The coldness of the water rather than its volume—for the river was then at its lowest—seemed in their view the principal obstacle. Anza proposed a raft, and ordered one constructed of logs and driftwood, while the Indians shuddered at the thought of wading or swimming across the broad river, to guard against its being carried away, with all its precious burden, by the strong current. Anza, however, persisted, and while soldiers and Indians were constructing it, rode, with a small guard, along the river above the junction, in search of a ford. One was found at a place where the river was divided into three parts by islands, and after testing it with his horse, he returned to camp to make ready for the crossing.

^{*} Calabaza, a kind of squash.

Next morning, November 30th, at three o'clock, the women and children were placed on the tallest and strongest horses and started across. The horses were led by soldiers going in advance, while a guard of ten soldiers on horseback followed on the down stream side, to rescue any who might fall out of their saddles, or to recapture any horse that might leave the line. Only one accident happened—a man carrying a baby fell into the stream but was quickly rescued, neither man nor child being the worse for the wetting. The baggage next received attention, and by nightfall, nearly the whole train was transferred to the western bank. The remainder was taken over on the following Anza estimated the width of the river at that time as 660 feet; Father Font, who was ill got so dizzy while crossing that a man rode on either side to keep him on his horse, which a third led by its halter, thought it was 800 to 1,100.

Waiting on the west bank to build a hut for Padres Garcés and Esaire, who were to remain there, and for some of the sick—two of whom were so ill that the sacrament was administered to them—to so far recover as to be able to travel again, the march was resumed on the morning of December 4th. Part of the way it was necessary to cut a road through the thick jungle bordering the river, and their progress was much delayed on that account. The cattle also gave them much trouble by straying away among the bushes, and the drivers found it very difficult at times to keep them together.

The weather had grown extremely cold for these people who had all their lives been accustomed to a warm climate. The animals also suffered from it; some had been lost on that account while coming down the Gila. On the night of the 4th the temperature fell lower than before and two more horses died, while the number of sick people was increased to eleven.

On the 5th the dividing line between the Yuma and Cojat tribes was reached, and an early halt was made to allow the straggling cattle to be gathered up. Another member of the party was so ill that the sacrament was administered. A short march on the 6th brought the column to the principal ranchería of the Cojats, at a place which Anza had called Laguna de Santa Olalla,* on his former visit, and very near the border of the desert. Here three fishermen with nets, in less than an hour, took more than a thousand fish from the lake, averaging nearly a foot in length. Among them Anza recognized two varieties that came from the sea, which was evidence as he thought that the lake was refilled from time to time by the overflow of the Colorado.

Careful preparations were now made for a dash across the desert, where for three days at least they were to find little water and less grass. For this reason Anza resolved to wait here two days to give the animals opportunity to feed heartily where food was plenty. He also divided the party into three divisions so that the stock might be watered in relays at the few water holes they were to find. These the first party would open and deepen, water their animals and pass on, giving them a chance to refill to some extent at least before the next division should come up. Those in charge would still further improve them, if possible, and in this manner get some water for all the horses

^{*} Lake of Saint Eulalia.

and mules at each well. The cattle were so wild that they could not be given water from buckets; and as all could not get to the wells, they would have to make the whole journey without water, and it was hoped they would be able to make it in two days.

The first division moved into the desert at half past nine o'clock on the morning of December 9th. At the end of five leagues, the water holes, which Anza had called Carrizal—because a small supply of wiry marsh grass with very little nourishment in it grew near by—were found to have an unlooked for supply of water in them. By opening and deepening them it was found they they would refill in time to supply all the divisions, and the cattle particularly would suffer less than had been expected.

This was the last watering place on the edge of the desert from which Anza had been compelled to retreat on his first journey, and which he had conquered only by a struggle after a second attempt. He had now made such preparations as were possible to attack it with more certainty of success, for he had women and children to provide for and protect, and some of them were not in good health. He had brought maize for his horses and pack animals, and a small supply of forage was also carried by the soldiers on their saddles. Thus the horses would be kept strong and able to carry those who rode them, more certainly to safety.

Giving the horses all the water they would drink, on the forenoon of the 10th, the march was resumed a little after midday. That night camp was made in the bed of a dry creek, where there was neither grass nor water, though there was some driftwood in it, which

was most welcome, for the weather was very cold. At three o'clock next morning, after the horses had been given a little grain, they took the road again, avoiding the sand hills where possible, and made ten leagues, or twenty-six miles, in a little more than ten hours, without stopping. At the end of this march they had crossed the line from Lower to Alta California, and arrived at a place where a small supply of water had been found on the former journey. Anza had sent some men forward to open the water holes, but they had not accomplished as much as he had expected. By taking hold of the work himself, and encouraging the diggers by his example, water soon began to appear in encouraging quantity. The thirsty people were first supplied, then the horses and pack animals; but so slowly did the holes refill when exhausted, that some of the thirsty brutes were compelled to wait till morning. At two o'clock the watering was begun again, and by ten the last suffering beast had received something, though not enough in every case to satisfy its thirst.

The night had again been cruelly cold and there had been no wood. All had suffered considerably; and at half past twelve they resumed their cheerless march in the face of a bitter northwest wind. At the end of four leagues they made camp where there was wood and some pasture. There was no water; but rain was threatening which might relieve their thirst, though it might make them extremely uncomfortable. When day dawned some flakes of snow were falling, and they resumed their journey in great discomfort. The thin clothing the women and children, particularly, were

accustomed to wear, afforded but little protection from the cutting wind, and the snow-covered tops of the mountains, now beginning to appear, added to the cheerlessness of their situation. All bore up bravely, however, particularly those who were or had been sick, and were not yet fully recovered. Happily the condition of none made a halt necessary, and by the middle of the afternoon the marshy place which Anza had called *La Cienega de San Sebastian* was reached, where there was both grass and water, though not of very good quality.

The cold had now moderated somewhat, though when the poor women and children looked toward the mountains and saw them white with snow, they felt their hearts sink. "We saw the Sierra where we have to pass, full of snow to such a degree," says Anza, "that we would not have believed so much could be gathered together." Some of those who faced the Sierras farther north in later years—if such are living—will best know how cheerless this prospect was to these, the earliest white women and children to come to California.

There was a little wood scattered about the edges of this swamp, and Anza made all who were able to do so, take part in collecting as much as could be gathered of it; and it was well he did so, for about five o'clock it grew colder, and the wind blew with increasing violence, with indications of snow. The night was particularly cold and cheerless, and at dawn snow began to fall. The wind continued to blow strong and cold and continued all day. As there was sufficient water, such as it was, and some grass, Anza resolved to wait

THE DESERT OF THE PAPAGUERIA looking East from the Summit of Tinajas Altas. Photograph by Captain D. D. Gaillard of the Boundary Commission.

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here for the other divisions to come up. The cattle arrived at noon, having come almost straight across the desert, over the route by which the exploring party had returned. They had been four days without water, and a few of them had perished by the way from weariness, thirst or hunger. Five horses had also died by the way from cold and exhaustion.

The third division had not come up on the morning of the 16th, so it was decided to wait another day for it. Four more of the cattle died during this day, and the Indians ran off some of the horses, which were afterwards recovered, though the thieves were not caught. On the morning of the 17th the missing division had not appeared and a sergeant with twenty soldiers was sent to meet it. They came in late in the afternoon in a worse condition than either of the others. Their horses had stampeded during the storm, and in recovering them several members of the party had been so badly frozen that they nearly died; four horses had perished from cold and exhaustion. Ensign Moraga, in charge of this party, had so exposed himself in caring for the suffering members of his party, building or replenishing the fires during the nights, nursing the sick, and attending generally to the welfare of the camp, that he was attacked with severe pains in his head and ears which afterwards left him totally deaf.

Snow continued to fall during this day and two more cattle died, but much to Anza's surprise the general health of his party improved. Nine days earlier there had been fifteen persons sick, and the lives of some were despaired of; none had died and now there were only

five who were ill and none dangerously. On his former journey many of his animals had been made sick by eating the grass at this place, but none had suffered from it this time. Three cattle died from exhaustion, and a few that were too weak to travel, Anza had killed and their flesh dried or salted, though it was scarcely edible; still he could not know what the party might be glad to eat before they had crossed the snow-covered mountains they were soon to attack, and with his customary prudence he wasted nothing that might under any conditions become desirable.

At half past one on the afternoon of the 18th, the march was resumed once more. For the first time in six days the sun was shining, and the wind blew with less violence, so that a little more than nine miles, over gently rising ground were covered without great discomfort. The day following, they made ten and a half miles, and camped at a place where they had hoped to find plenty of water, but were disappointed. The supply was so scanty that many of the animals got none. Many of the cattle and some of the pack animals were now so nearly worn out, that three or four of each, and sometimes as many as eleven died each day. They had "dried up and become so thin," Anza says, "that they could not be recognized for the beasts that began the march." In order that they might travel as slowly as possible, they had, for several marches, been sent off early each morning, but invariably they did not reach camp until late at night.

On December 19th, they began to climb the mountains which had so long been in view, and the crossing of which all so much dreaded because of the snow which

covered their tops, which seemed to increase and grow whiter and colder every day. All regarded it with anxiety; some with fear. These people had lived all their lives in a warm country; had never seen snow before, and were not suitably clothed for a contest with it. They had suffered much from the cold already, where there had been little snow; how would they be able to survive when they reached these white ridges, where it lay in unknown depth? And if there was so much of it here, how much more might they expect to find in the country so much farther north, to which they knew they were going? These speculations had a far more depressive effect on the spirits of the party than the privations they were actually enduring.

The night of the 19th was bitter cold. Eight animals were frozen to death. All the people suffered severely, because of insufficient shelter, lack of suitable clothing, and firewood. In the morning it was found that a lot of cattle, in spite of their emaciated condition, had escaped from the herders and started back over the trail in search of water, to satisfy their raging thirst. Sending some soldiers to recover them, Anza ordered the march resumed, as it was impossible to remain longer where there was so little water.

After traveling four leagues, through a gradually ascending valley, they made camp at a place where running water was abundant. Here the cattle which had been sent off as usual ahead of the train, arrived only at seven o'clock next morning, so impossible was it to urge them forward more rapidly. In spite of the care with which they had been driven, eleven had died on the trail.

The party rested at this camp all of the 21st, waiting for the cattle which had stampeded on the night of the 19th, to be fetched up, but only a few came. The soldiers who had been sent back after them, came up late in the afternoon, and reported most of the herd—about fifty head—lost. So crazed with thirst had the poor creatures been, that on reaching the mirey slough to which they had returned, they had crowded into it so thickly, and their feet had sunk into its muddy bottom so rapidly, that they were unable to extricate themselves, and perished together. Five horses and some cattle which had also been left behind because too weak to travel, were also all reported dead; but one, together with the few cattle that had been rescued from the marsh, was brought up.

So great a loss so near the end of the journey, was very discouraging; but the *comandante* consoled himself with the reflection that he had neglected no precaution to prevent such a calamity.

It was raining on the morning of the 23d, and the start was delayed until a little after noon, and then only a short march was made because rain continued to fall, and threatened to turn to snow. At nightfall the storm increased and much rain fell. In the morning, although rain was still falling, camp was broken at a little after nine o'clock, and the climb up the mountain trail continued until halted by the sickness of one of the women. That night she gave birth to a boy—the eighth child born since the party left Horcasitas.

Christmas day was passed in camp, because the sick woman was not able to travel, but the march was resumed on the morning of the 26th, up the steepest

part of the climb to the summit. A light rain fell during nearly the whole day, and fearing to travel too far because of the sick woman, camp was made about half past four in the afternoon. That night a severe thunder storm passed over the mountains, and a shock of earthquake, which lasted about four minutes, was felt. Next day they passed the summit, through San Carlos pass. So much rain had fallen that the ground was soggy, and a comfortable camping place was not found. Snow covered the peaks around them, and as far as they could see in all directions. The effect on the party was most depressing, and many wept. At every camp some of the animals died from cold or exhaustion, and every day some fell by the way and could not be got to their feet again. Where death claimed the brutes so continually and in such numbers, it seemed probable that some of the people might be next to go. To complete their depression, the sick woman became violently ill. In spite of all they had been able to do for her, she had been more or less exposed to the storm during the day, and at night it had been even more difficult to make her comfortable, the ground was so damp and cold. For a time her life was despaired of, and as morning drew near she was almost in convulsions. The commander, who was both physician and nurse when occasions required, did what he could, but his resources were few. Some medicines which he had prudently provided, and the consolations of religion were all that he or Padre Font could offer. They, however, proved to be sufficient, and after resting one day the party again prepared to move. The cattle had been sent forward as usual,

so their progress was not delayed on that account, and they made six leagues in seven hours, through a narrow and crooked pass in which Anza thinks they made two hundred fords.

While waiting at the last camp he had sent messengers to San Gabriel to notify the missionaries of his coming, so that they might make such preparations as they could to receive so large a party. He also sent a letter, to be forwarded to Comandante Rivera, suggesting that he be ready to join in exploring the sites for the new presidio and missions and the ceremonies of founding them.

The journey down the west side of the mountains was made without special incident, all the people taking new hope as the prospect and the weather improved. The Santa Ana was reached on New Year's Day, 1776, and was safely crossed by a bridge, hurriedly constructed as on the former journey. Camp was pitched soon after the crossing was completed, and here the messengers sent to San Gabriel arrived, bringing eleven fresh horses, and the rather disturbing news of an Indian uprising at San Diego, in which the mission buildings had been burned, and one of the missionaries and some other white people had been killed. guard at San Gabriel had also been informed that that mission was likely to be attacked. Two days more of travel through rain and fog, with occasional suggestions of snow, brought the party so near San Gabriel that they reached it before noon on the third, which was January 4th. The difficult part of their journey was now ended. They were in California; the remainder of the way was well known and presented

no obstacles that would not be overcome with ease. They had traveled more than 500 miles through a region but little known. A large part of the way had lain through deserts in which watering places were few, and feed for their animals scanty. They had passed along the borders of a country inhabited by the fiercest of all Indian tribes, and they had crossed one broad river and a range of mountains—all in the depth of one of the severest winters of which that region has any record or remembrance. They had been seventythree days on the way; eight children had been born and only one person had died since the party had been organized. Their journey was, and continued to be a remarkable one, until some even more remarkable were made toward the same destination seventy-five vears later.

At San Gabriel Anza found Rivera waiting for him. He had been informed of the uprising at San Diego, and was now on his way thither with ten soldiers, to put down what, according to the information at hand, seemed to be a general uprising of all the Indians in Southern California. To Rivera, under such circumstances, Anza's arrival with twenty veterans, trained to Indian warfare by long service in the neighborhood of the Apaches, must have seemed little less than providential. He did not know how general the disaffection was; how many warriors might be waiting to oppose him, or where he might first meet them. Anza had found the hill tribes of the San Jacinto Mountains in no very friendly humor, and had reason to suspect that those on the Colorado had been advised of what the coast tribes were planning to do. Rivera

had only seventy men of his own to rely upon, and these were scattered among five missions and two presidios four hundred and twenty miles apart. At that time he did not know but Ortega and the few soldiers he had at San Diego, together with all the missionaries and other white people there had been massacred; in which case he would be left to meet the combined tribes of the south with the ten soldiers he brought from Monterey and the five at San Gabriel, a very small force for such a purpose.

At his request, after conferring with Anza, the latter placed his twenty veterans at Rivera's disposal, and waiving all considerations of rank, offered to accompany him to San Diego and render such assistance as he could to quell the uprising. The generous offer was gladly accepted, and the two commanders arranged to set off on the following day—January 7th—to relieve the beleaguered mission and presidio of San Diego, if any of their white inhabitants remained alive; and to punish their murderers if they were dead.

The mission of San Diego had been removed in August, 1774, from the site on which it had originally been founded to a more desirable one five or six miles toward the northeast from the harbor and presidio. Here was better land for farming and gardening, more water for irrigation, and a wider range for the mission live stock. Moreover it had been found desirable, as it always was, to remove the Indian converts some distance from the influence of the soldiers of the garrison. The Indians themselves were well pleased with the removal and joined so heartily in the necessary work, that by the end of the year a storehouse and a

dwelling for the missionaries had been constructed of wood, a blacksmith shop of adobe, and a wooden church fifty-seven feet long by eighteen wide, all roofed with tules. A well had also been dug, and some arrangements made for planting. Meanwhile the missionary work had proceeded more favorably than before; and on October 3, 1775, the fathers had baptized no less than sixty converts.

There were eleven rancherias of gentiles, or unconverted Indians, in the neighborhood; and among these were many who looked with envy upon the evidence of increasing prosperity at the mission. They had a wholesome fear of the guns of the soldiers, however, and in order to procure as many reinforcements as possible, had sent their runners to distant tribes, inviting them to join in driving the white invaders out of their country. Then, having won over some of the mission Indians, they arranged to make their attack on the night of November 4th.

The plan was to attack the presidio and mission at the same time, the assailants evidently knowing that Lieutenant Ortega and some of the soldiers were absent. They had gone north some time before, to begin work on the first temporary buildings for the new mission of San Juan Capistrano, and on the night of the attack, had been so engaged for eight days.

So well had all their plans been laid, that no suspicion of what they were about to do disturbed anyone, either at the mission or presidio. No guards were placed, and everybody at the mission was asleep until aroused some time after midnight to find the roofs of all the buildings on fire. Then the Indian yell was raised,

and when the fathers and others opened their doors to escape, they were greeted by showers of arrows. Padre Luis Jayme was seized near his door, dragged a considerable distance away and beaten to death. The blacksmith and the carpenter, who occupied a separate building, hurriedly armed themseves, but the former fell dead, transfixed by two arrows, soon after opening his door, and the other was seriously wounded, though he succeeded in killing one of his assailants. The carpenter from the presidio, who was temporarily staying at the mission and was ill at the time, was also wounded so severely that he died a few days later. The corporal and three soldiers composing the mission guard, fought stoutly, but were forced to take refuge in a building from which they were in a short time driven by fire. Then with Padre Fuster and the wounded carpenter, they retreated to the unfinished adobe storehouse where they made a new stand. Most of them were wounded, but they kept up the fight with good effect; the adobe walls affording them a tolerably secure protection. When the Indians set its tule roof on fire, they were for a time in imminent danger, for there was an open package in the place containing fifty pounds of powder; but Father Fuster heroically and effectively protected it from contact with any falling fagot, by covering it with his body and his ample friar's robe.

The fighting lasted until daybreak, when the Indians retired. Father Jayme's body pierced with no less than eighteen arrows, was found at some distance from the mission, whither it had been dragged and brutally mutilated; that of the blacksmith had been buried in

the ruins of his house. Taking their charred and mutilated remains, and the wounded carpenter with them, the survivors of the fight retreated to the presidio, leaving the Indians of the mission, who had shown but little inclination to assist in the defense, to save as much as they might from the smouldering ruins.

Anza and Rivera arrived on the scene, with twentynine soldiers,* on the afternoon of January 11th, more than two months after the fight at the mission. They found that Ortega and the soldiers with him at the new mission of San Juan Capistrano, had returned to the presidio as soon as they had heard of the attack. There had been no further hostile demonstrations, though there was some reason to believe that the Indians were planning a second enterprise.

Investigation developed facts strongly indicating that the converted Indians, if not parties to the original plot, were fully aware of it, had assented to it, and expected to profit by it. They had given no alarm, had rendered no efficient service in repelling the attack, and afterwards made excuses that bordered closely on admission of guilt. They claimed to have been locked up in their huts by the gentiles before any alarm was given, although their flimsy huts could not have restrained them very long if they had been really anxious to get out. It was observed that most of the articles of value had been saved from the church, and were found in their possession. It was evident that these could not have been carried out of the building after its inflam-

^{*} Seventeen of Anza's veterans, the ten which Rivera had brought from Monterey, and two from the mission guard of San Gabriel. Three of Anza's men under Ensign Moraga, and the remainder of the mission guard had been left to defend the mission and Anza's party of settlers who were camped near it.

mable roof was once on fire. All the buildings had been fired simultaneously and before the war cry was raised. If they had really been under restraint they could not have reached the church until it was ablaze in every part.

Anza plainly saw through all these pretensions and others. It was clear to him that their stories of how they had killed all the dead Indians found on the field, and wounded many others, were pure inventions. The bullet wounds of the dead indicated only too clearly that they had been made by experienced marksmen, such as some of the soldiers, particularly Corporal Rocha, had shown himself to be. They also claimed that the gentiles, particularly those from the hill country, were specially anxious to possess themselves of the cannon of the presidio, whereas it was reasonably certain that those Indians did not know there was such a thing as cannon.

The investigation also showed a woefully lax condition in the discipline of the soldiers at the presidio as well as at the mission. It was claimed that guards had been posted as usual the night of the massacre, and yet no guard gave the alarm at the mission until its buildings were burning; and none was given at the presidio, although if there was a guard, he must have seen the fire at the mission if he was not asleep. That he did not see it, was proved by the fact that the sergeant in charge did not learn of the massacre until the bodies of the murdered priest and blacksmith were brought to the presidio next day.

Rivera set to work, in his sullen way, to find out the most guilty among the perpetrators of the outrage,

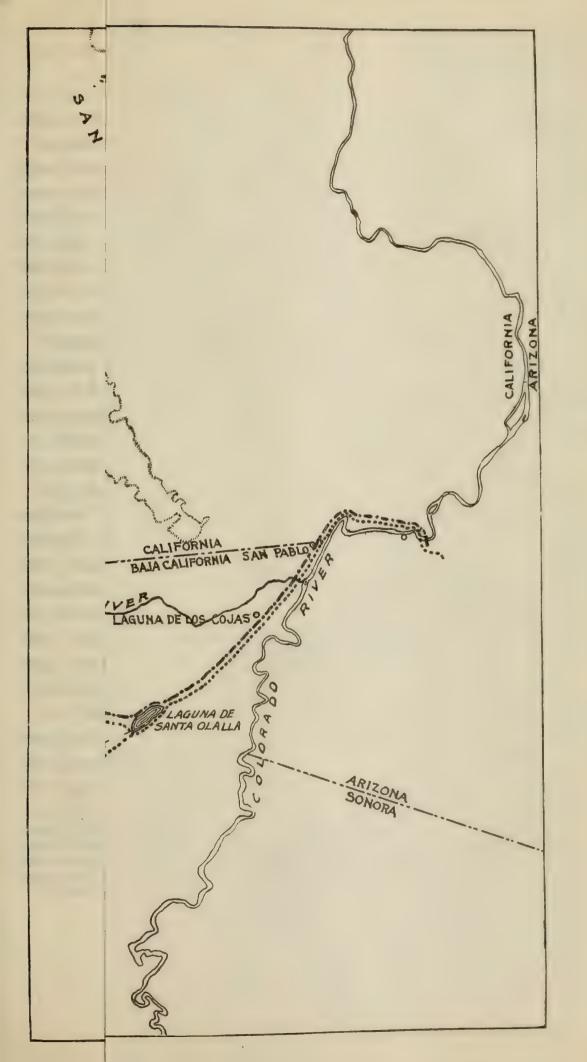
and punish them as the military usage of the time required. Two brothers, who had been baptized as Carlos and Francisco, were soon under suspicion as among the chief conspirators. They were known to have been absent from the mission without leave for a considerable time before the massacre and were reported to have visited many of the gentile rancherias. Parties of soldiers were sent out from time to time, in search of these and other leaders in the uprising, and the prisoners they brought in confirmed the reports already received, as to the guilt of these two renegades. Where certain proof was obtained, as it sometimes was, that any of these prisoners had participated in the uprising, they were punished either by imprisonment in irons, or with the bastinado. The least guilty, after receiving such an application of the lash as was thought suitable, were sent back to their camps with an admonition to urge upon their tribesmen the importance of apprehending and delivering up the guilty brothers, as well as those among their own people who had taken most active part in the killing and burning; for if they did not, more soldiers would be sent for and all would be severely punished.

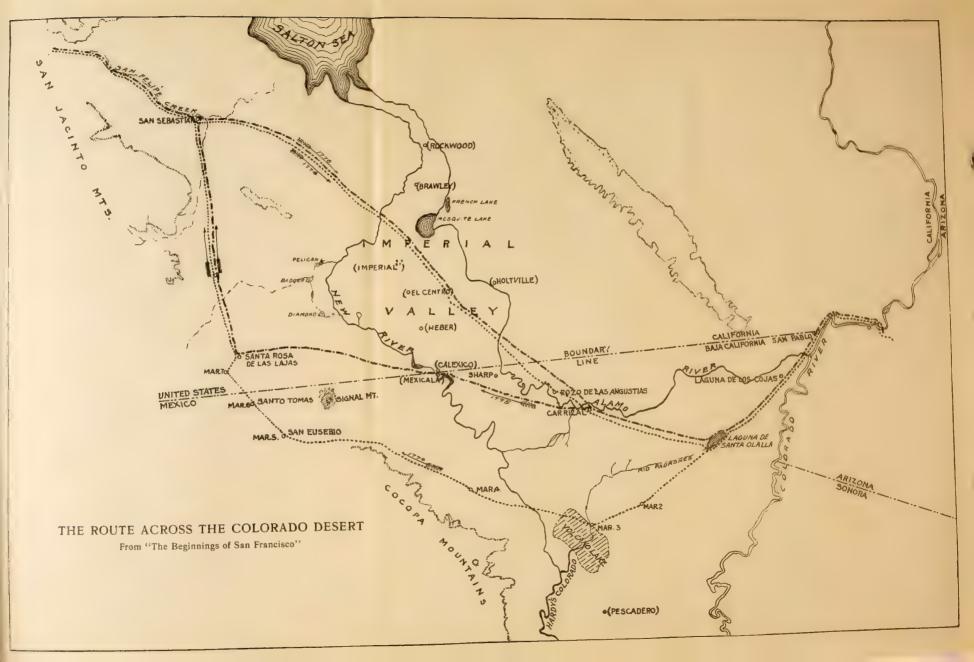
This policy had some effect in bringing in new candidates for the bastinado; but almost continuous rains interfered with the movements of the soldiers, and gave Rivera an excuse for the dilatory tactics to which he was inclined. Anza chafed under the conditions he had imposed upon himself. He was not accustomed to conduct his campaigns in that irresolute way, but he concealed his impatience as best he could. Rivera

was in command in that region, and although he outranked him, he would not interfere; and so nearly a month passed.

On February 3d a message was received from Moraga, at San Gabriel, that the padres were growing anxious about their food supply, and had given him notice that they would furnish his party with half rations for eight days longer; but after that they could do no more. Anza now felt he must resume the work that he had been sent to do and carry it forward to completion. It had been arranged at San Gabriel that if Rivera should be detained at San Diego, Anza should go on to his destination with his people, and do what he had been sent to do there. This Rivera had said could be done without his presence; and now, leaving twelve of his soldiers, which Rivera asked for until he could complete his work at San Diego, Anza started northward, taking with him his pack animals with a few loads of provisions. Arriving at San Gabriel, he found that five of his muleteers had deserted, a night or two previously, taking with them twenty-five of his best horses, and a considerable part of the supplies he had reserved for the remainder of his journey. He promptly dispatched Moraga with ten soldiers to capture them; but after waiting eight days without hearing from him, he found he must set off or his remaining supplies would not be sufficient.

The almost continuous rain of an unusually wet season, had left the ground in very bad condition for traveling, particularly near the coast, along which the remainder of the way lay; but his people were now accustomed to travel; there were two missions on the





way at which rest and refreshment might be procured if occasion required, and the season was so far advanced that better weather might be expected. He therefore resumed the march on February 21st, with seventeen families who were to be settled at the new port, escorted by only six soldiers; the others he had brought were left with Rivera, or to wait at San Gabriel for Moraga's return, when they were to assist in bringing up the remainder of the train.

Passing over the site of the present city of Los Angeles, crossing the Porciúncula, and going by the way of Cahuenga Pass into the San Fernando Valley, he moved rapidly over the road, now fairly well known, to Monterey, where he arrived March 10th in the midst of a driving rain.

All the party were in good health, and none had suffered much inconvenience during the journey, although the weather had not been very favorable, and they had made from three to ten leagues each day.* Sometimes the women had been compelled to dismount in climbing a hill or crossing a marshy place, but usually they had done so without complaining. Now that the long journey was ended, they remembered most of it with pleasure, and all of it with pride.

At the mission San Antonio, Lieutenant Moraga† overtook the party, bringing news that he had overtaken the deserters only a few leagues west of the Colorado. He had captured them without opposition, recovered

^{*}Anza was as enterprising while traveling as in war. Even when encumbered by the long train and the women and children he had with him on this expedition, hefrequently made eight to ten leagues a day, and sometimes twenty. In the sixty-two days of actual marching from Tubac to Monterey, his average was about five leagues per day.

† He had received his commission as lieutenant while at San Gabriel.

most of the stolen property, and had left the culprits in irons at San Gabriel. He had encountered some opposition from the Indians just beyond the San Jacinto range, and had found among them some evidence that they had been concerned in the attack on the San Diego mission, but he had not attempted to punish them.

The four missionaries then at San Carlos, with Padre Junípero at their head, came over to the presidio next morning to meet the colonel comandante and his party, and congratulate them on their safe arrival. The coming of so large a colony to the new country was an event of very great importance. The women and children were particularly welcome, as their presence would give this remote station the appearance of being part of a civilized country, in which people willingly lived, and would be willing to die and be buried there when their time came. The good missionaries made ready to celebrate the occasion as they did by singing a mass with all possible ceremony. Then Padre Font preached, and as Anza informs us "exhorted our people, with much energy, that with the good example of their lives they should manifest Catholicism as a mirror, and justify His Majesty in sending them to these regions to convert the gentiles, which is the principal reason for bringing them here"; all of which may remind the reader of some of the sermons preached to the pilgrim fathers by the godly men who exhorted them with equal energy, and doubtless at greater length, to set equally good examples for the heathen, though not perhaps for the glory of the Catholic church.

Padre Font and Colonel Anza were taken to the mission for entertainment, and there the latter was

attacked with a malady resembling sciatic rheumatism, that disabled him for nearly a week. The pain was so violent, he says, that he could not sleep, nor could he lie in bed except in one position. The doctor from the presidio did his best to relieve him but without success, and finally Anza applied some remedy of his own, the nature of which he does not describe further than to indicate that it was some unguent, which gradually relieved his agony.

While thus detained at the mission, the surprising news was brought him that an order from Rivera had been received at the presidio directing his settlers to build houses for themselves in Monterey and remain there until the presidio had been founded at San Francisco. This order must have been prepared and forwarded about the time he was himself leaving San Diego, and yet the comandante had said nothing to him about it. It was wholly irregular for it assumed control of people who were still under Anza's command, and he might have ignored it had he seen fit to do so, but he did not. Instead he wrote to Rivera, explaining the embarrassment which his unexpected order had caused the missionaries, and settlers, and notified him that he should go ahead and do what he could to carry out the viceroy's order, hoping when he returned to be assured that his course was approved by the comandante.

Although not entirely recovered, on the morning of March 23d, accompanied by Padre Font, Lieutenant Moraga, a corporal and two soldiers from the presidio, and eight of his own soldiers, Anza started to make the survey for which he had come so far. Going by the

same route that had now been traveled by four other expeditions, they arrived early on the 26th at the spot on San Francisquito Creek, where Rivera and Padre Palou had set up a cross more than a year earlier, to mark it as a place suitable for a mission. The cross was still standing, though no mission was ever established there. That afternoon and the morning following they kept on toward the north, through valleys and over hills studded with spreading oaks, or made fragrant with laurels to the shore of Mountain Lake, the source of Lobos Creek, where camp was made, and Anza immediately went to inspect the shore toward the east in search of a site for the presidio. This occupied his time until five o'clock when he returned, having found several places that were suitable for the purpose, for every reason except one—there was lack of wood for building.

Leaving camp at seven o'clock next morning, he went direct "to the point where the entrance to the port is narrowest," a place "where nobody has been," as he says, and there set up a cross to mark it as the place where the fort was to be. Having done this, he continued his explorations toward the east and southeast, finding water and wood suitable both for building and burning; also good land for cultivation, though requiring irrigation, for which a near by well, or spring would supply sufficient water. At a little more than half a league southeast of his camp, he came upon a lake of considerable size, that seemed to have water at all seasons; but however that might be, with a week's labor spent in building dikes and a dam, it might be made to "abound exceedingly," he says, while near it there was good ground for a garden.

This place impressed him favorably as a site for one of the two missions to be founded near the port. Next morning, after sending his baggage back to the arroyo San Mateo, he returned to this lake in company with Padre Font and five soldiers, to complete his examination. Near the lake, which he had called Lake Manantial, he found a flowing spring, forming a little rivulet, which for the day of his visit, Friday, March 29, 1776—the Friday of Sorrows—he called Los Dolores.* This rivulet flowed into Lake Manantial, which was not far from the little cove Avala's second mate had named the Bay of the Weepers. About half a league toward the southeast from this lake and spring, he found a broad, well watered valley, in which there was admirable land for a farm, while in its neighborhood, was an excellent range for cattle.

Anza had now observed the whole shore from the entrance around to the bay itself, and had seen enough of the configuration of the ground to be satisfied that there was no better place for the fort than that where he had set up the cross; and none better for the mission than near the spring which he had called Los Dolores. The fort would be near the point where the strait was narrowest; on high ground, from which ships coming from the ocean would most certainly be seen, and at the point where the harbor could first be defended. There was near it all that would be required in the way of wood, water and ground for the soldiers' garden. So he now writes in his diary: "The fort may be established where the entrance to the port is narrowest, and where I put up the cross." A mission

^{*} The Friday of Sorrows is the Friday before Palm Sunday.

near the lake and the creek called Dolores, would have near it land for a garden, a farm, and for grazing—"land not only fertile, but very fertile, with abundance of water, fuel, and stone. Nothing is wanting." Then, as if too much could not be said to recommend this mission site, he adds: "There are good cultivable lands as well as pastures for cattle, unequaled in goodness, and abundance, and enjoying all those beautiful facilities which those who have only come as far as the mouth of the port have not even been hoping for."

He next proceeded to explore the parts of the peninsula which he had not already visited, going during the day as far west as Lake Merced, and examining the San Andrés Valley, in which he found plenty of timber for building purposes, which could easily be transported to the sites he had selected for both presidio and mission.

The diaries of both Anza and Font amply testified that they were delighted with all that they saw during this exploration. Anza, who rarely grows enthusiastic, repeats his exclamation of admiration, and finally declares that there appears to be "no reason why this most famous port should remain unoccupied." Font says: "The Port of San Francisco is a marvel of nature, and may be called the port of ports."

Having now completed his survey of the peninsula, Anza turned to the last work he was instructed to do on this expedition, viz: to explore the great river which Crespi had called the *Rio de San Francisco*, as far as possible beyond the limit reached by Fages in 1772. It was now near the end of the rainy season, and all the streams flowing into the bay were running bank

full, compelling him in some places to make wide detours in order to find fords. This was particularly true in rounding the head of the bay, and along its eastern shore as far north as Alameda. From there north he followed Fages' route approximately, and before noon on the fourth day after leaving San Mateo, arrived at "the confluence of the river with the estero or bay." He was at the entrance of Carquinez Strait.

He had found Indians in considerable numbers on both sides of the bay. They were generally inclined to be friendly, though those between the head of the bay and the present site of Alameda or Oakland, were disposed to be hostile as Ortega had reported six years earlier. Those living on the south shore of San Pablo Bay, near the strait, gave them a very formal and hearty reception, coming out to meet them in procession, at the head of which marched three singers "each bearing a pole on top of which was a bunch of feathers, whose different colors were presented to view as the wind moved them when the pole was moved."*

Following the strait, the south shore of Suisun Bay, and then the bank of the San Joaquin, they arrived on the afternoon of the fifth day from San Mateo, April 3d, at the point where Fages had turned back. They had seen the mouths of both great rivers, and were quite perplexed to make out their real character. They had been testing the water at intervals on the march from San Pablo Bay, first finding it brackish and then sweet. They had watched for driftwood and other evidences of freshets, along the shore,

^{*}These feather-tufted poles no doubt very closely resembled the Kahili which the Hawaiian chiefs had borne in front of them on ceremonious occasions, and later were always borne in front of their kings.

but found none. No current was perceptible, while at times the wind ruffled the water so much as to raise waves that suggested a lake. The land lying between the two rivers might after all be an island; other bits of ground that were undoubtedly islands, were visible. Far to the east they could see the sierra nevada, while lying between them and the hills near which they stood, was an immense area extending much farther toward the north and south than they could see. If this vast area were all filled by a fresh water lake it must be of tremendous extent, while the nature of its shore, if at all like that where they were, would make exploration difficult.

When camp was made on the afternoon of April 3d, logs were thrown in the water to make another test for current, but instead of carrying them away, the water brought them back. Then a test for tide was made by setting stakes in the water near the shore, and in five hours and a half they saw that the water fell about nine feet. Clearly the lake, or river, or whatever it was, was influenced by the tides. Padre Font believed it a fresh water lake and named it *Puerto Dulce*.

Anza resolved to investigate further. Traveling next day as near the water as he could, and avoiding crossing sloughs, bayous, and marshy places, always trying to go toward the north, or northeast, but continually forced more toward the south and southeast, until at the end of eight leagues, part of which he had traveled on foot in order to force his way through marshy places, he resolved to explore no further. One of the two soldiers from Monterey had been with Fages in an expedition made in 1773 across the mountains from mission

San Luis Obispo to Tulare Lake in search of some runaway Indians, and he now told Anza what he had then seen. He even thought he recognized a mountain peak, which was just visible far to the south, as one he had seen on that occasion.

From what he told them, both Anza and Font concluded that the valley they were in extended more than a hundred leagues toward the south and at least as far north as the bay, which Bodega had discovered, with a width of twenty-five to thirty leagues. Font was disposed to believe that it was filled, for the most part at least, with a great lake, probably studded with low-lying islands, like those they had passed. This idea apparently grew upon him for when he came to rewrite his diary, after his return to his mission, he devoted a page or two to a speculation as to whether what they had found might not furnish confirmation of a report Fray Silvestre Velez de Escalante had obtained from a Cosnina Indian a year earlier while exploring in the country of the Moqui. This report was that a long way to the west of the country of the Cosninas, and over a very bad road, there was a very high sierra, running from northeast to southwest, and near it a mysterious river, so broad that his people did not know how broad it was or whether its opposite shore was inhabited. It flowed toward the west, and as his own party had seen nothing of such a river in coming from Sonora to where they were, Padre Font was inclined to suspect that the great river Mysterious was not a river at all but a great lake, and that he was now standing on the border of it. This lake was so vast, extending as he believed as far south as the

Tulares opposite the Mission of San Luis Obispo, and perhaps an equal distance toward the north, that he thought it must forever interpose an impassable barrier to any approach to California by a road from New Mexico.

In spite of the dubious prospect Anza persisted on pushing his explorations for one more day, but with no better success than before, and then for the only time in his life, so far as we have any history of it, confessed defeat. Making no effort to explore the river or its valley further, he turned back toward the hills on his right, to find a shorter road to Monterey than that by which he had come. During the two succeeding days he clambered about among hills, going over some and around others, always endeavoring to make some progress toward the southwest, in which he knew his destination lay, but often compelled to go "to the north, to the south, to the east, and in every direction, or without direction," as Font says. Sometimes he found himself in a cañon which seemed to promise an outlet into a broader valley, but which ended abruptly at a precipice, and he was obliged to go back or climb out as best he could; again he would follow a ridge and find it narrowed to a point as precipitous as the end of the canon had been. At the end of the second day they reached the valley of Coyote Creek, and made their camp that night near Gilroy Hot Springs. The remainder of the journey to Monterey was easy, and they arrived there on the 8th of April.

The work Anza had come so far to do was now done—at least so far as it could be done until Rivera should return. That worthy was still in the south where he

had accomplished little that he wished to do, and had got himself into very grave trouble besides. In his absence it would hardly have been proper to found the presidio and mission, as they were to be set up within his jurisdiction. The viceroy's instructions had clearly contemplated the harmonious coöperation of both commanders in this ceremony, that would have been so agreeable to all concerned, and Anza would not violate their spirit or their letter. While it was perhaps a disappointment thus to take his leave without seeing his work fully rounded out and completed, as it might have been, he nevertheless prepared immediately to set forth on his return journey.

His preparations were soon made. Although still suffering from the malady which had attacked him at Carmelo, he did not allow the pain to delay his arrangements. Sending off a message to Rivera asking him to be at San Gabriel when he should arrive there, so that they might confer together about the few things that still remained unfinished, of those they were to have worked out together, he was ready to leave on the morning of April 14th. On that day he turned over the command and all his responsibilities for the expedition he had safely brought so far, to Lieutenant Moraga, and turned his face homeward.

Most of the settler soldiers and their families were still at Monterey, and they gathered about him as he was about to mount his horse, for a final leave-taking. Many of them shed tears, "and with embraces and wishes for my happiness," says Anza in his diary, "bade me farewell, giving me praises I did not deserve."

Next morning after leaving Monterey, he met the

sergeant from the presidio who had been sent off a few days before with his letter to Rivera, and who had met him by the way returning from San Diego. brought the curious report that the comandante had at first refused to receive the letter, had abused him roundly for some unknown reason, and reduced him to the rank of corporal. A few hours later he had accepted the letter, and without reading it had given him another letter for Anza, ordering him to begone and deliver it. He was quite of the opinion, as he said some of Rivera's own party were, that the man was mad. This message did not surprise Anza more than Rivera's letter, which was a reply to one sent him a month before, and contained a curt refusal to join him in the establishment of the presidio and mission at San Francisco.

A little later the two commanders and their parties met on the road. The two saluted, and without waiting for more formal greeting, Rivera put spurs to his horse, calling back a good-bye as he rode off. To this Anza called after him a suggestion that he send the answer to his letter to Mexico, and he too rode away.

Some explanation for this strange conduct was found in the story which the sergeant had brought to Anza, with Rivera's letter, which was that he had quarrelled with the priests at San Diego and been by them excommunicated. One of the two Indians who were suspected of having been leaders in the attack on the mission, and the murder of Father Jayme, had returned to the presidio and taken refuge in the building temporarily used as a church. Learning that he was there,

Rivera had demanded that the fathers surrender him, and they had refused. He had then taken him by force, although warned that he would be excommunicated if he should thus violate the ancient right of sanctuary. Claiming that the building was not a church, though temporarily used as such, Rivera had set the warning of the fathers at defiance, and with a drawn sword in one hand and a lighted candle in the other, had forcibly entered it, dragged the culprit forth and locked him up in the presidio guardhouse. The fathers had made formal demand for his return to their keeping, or to the place where mass had been said, and when it was refused, had given formal notice from before the altar that the comandante and all who had assisted him in seizing the Indian were excommunicated, and had refused to celebrate mass in their presence.

When Rivera's anger cooled, the consequences of his headstrong action seem to have well nigh overwhelmed him. Doubtless he realized that his action was uncalled for, ill advised and liable to subject him to censure by his superiors, while as a child of the church in which he had been born and educated, excommunication seemed little less than final judgment and condemnation. Remembering his sullen, peevish disposition, it may well be believed that the terror of the penalty he had defied, and finally incurred, made him for the time irresponsible.

At San Luis Obispo Anza was overtaken by another messenger from Rivera with a letter saying that he was returning and requesting him to wait at that station for the conference necessary to close up the business which had been entrusted to them jointly. The messenger, who was one of the fathers from San Carlos, also brought a letter from Padre Junipero saying he was on his way to San Diego, in company with the comandante, and wished also for a final interview with him. Complying with both requests he waited two days at the mission, when he received another message from the procrastinating comandante, postponing their interview until they should reach San Gabriel. To this Anza replied that he would meet him there provided that all communication between them should be in writing, and provided further that there should be no other postponement.

A week later at San Gabriel the conference was held, and lasted through two days. The two commanders did not meet, all their communication being by letter as Anza had suggested. When the conference was concluded Anza returned to Sonora, and California knew him no more.

His is easily the most forceful figure in its Spanish history. Although he visited it but twice, and was never an actual resident, he accomplished all that was expected of him, which was much. He opened the land route from Mexico, which was difficult but not impracticable, and had he been charged to do so, could have kept it open, in which case the history of the whole coast region would have been different. To reach it in this way, to make conquest of it from this direction, to send soldiers, missionaries, and settlers to it and provide them with supplies until they should become self-supporting, by means of it, was the principal feature of the original plan of Gálvez and Croix,

as we have seen from their memorial. Difficult as the way was, lying as it did across long stretches of desert and a range of mountains, it was susceptible of improvement, and under the management of a man like Anza, its difficulties could have been greatly reduced if not entirely overcome. His heart was in the work, for it had been the dream of his father. We may be almost certain that he was the first to urge it upon the attention of the visitador, who had spent much time in this part of Mexico before he wrote his memorial or was called upon to organize the "sacred expedition." That he did not do more than he did to demonstrate its practicability and to prevent the disaster which afterwards discouraged its use, may be attributed to the fact that he could act only upon the initiative of others in such matters, and that he was not long after his return from the coast made governor of New Mexico.

As an explorer, he easily deserves to rank above many, who hitherto have been awarded much more conspicuous places in history. Neither De Soto nor La Salle, Pike, Long, nor Fremont encountered greater difficulties than he, nor did any of them attack them with so much wisdom or courage. Mackenzie, and Lewis and Clark traveled further, but for the most part through a less difficult country, and though they encountered many perplexities and overcame many dangers, they met with nothing comparable to the terrors of the *Camino del Diablo*, or the first passages of the Colorado desert.

As the successful leader of the first party of settlers to the coast, Anza's position is unique. Only a man of splendid ability and courage, and sublime selfconfidence, could have sustained the fainting hearts of the timid women and children, encouraged them to endure the privations of the desert, or to face the terrors they thought they saw in the snow-covered summits of the San Jacinto Mountains, and the still greater terrors their fancies pictured in the far northern country to which they were going. We may find here and there a figure among the half-forgotten heroes who led their straggling immigrants across the plains and through the mountains after 1842, that deserves to rank with him, but we shall look in vain for any in the Spanish history of the coast, unless we turn back to that of Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo with his broken arm, holding his scurvy-stricken sailors to the work of examining the wintry coast southward from Cape Mendocino to his grave in the Santa Barbara Islands, and with his latest breath admonishing his successor not to give up the work.

CHAPTER X. SAN FRANCISCO FOUNDED



HE time had come at last—long waited for and long prayed for-when the padres could found a mission for their "seraphic father," Saint Francis, "in his own port." It had been delayed by circumstances they could not control by the craft of some high in authority, by the caprice of some lower in authority, and by their own blind belief that the port they were seeking lay under Point Reves where Cermeño's ship had been wrecked, and where Cabrera Bueno had said it was. It seems strange in our day that they did not recognize the great bay, which the Portolá party had discovered, as a thing of far greater value than the little cove which Cabrera had described as protected from "all winds from the north"; but the reason was, no doubt, that the commerce of their day had no need for a great harbor, and they could not foresee what that of the future years would require. Their interest was largely a sentimental one; a port had been named for Saint Francis, and that port and no other they most wished to find. Had not Gálvez, the director of the sacred expedition, said to Padre Junipero at the outset: "Let Saint Francis show us his port and he shall have a mission"? Palou had so reported, and for seven years they had been praying that he would show the way to it. Viceroys had ordered more than once that it be explored. For five years two missionaries had been waiting at San Carlos with all the necessary vestments, church furniture and other property which had been sent forward so that the mission might be founded "without the least delay,"* and yet there was no mission.

^{*} Croix to Fages, November 12, 1770.

When Anza arrived at Monterey with his soldier settlers and their families, the cattle, and the long train of pack animals by which they were accompanied, it seemed certain that not only one but several new missions would speedily be established. Two of them had long ago been ordered; one indeed Gálvez had provided for in his original plan for the sacred expedition. It was to be called San Buenaventura, and located on the Santa Barbara Channel, where Indians were even at that time known to be numerous and well disposed toward their white visitors. Priests and soldiers had visited that region many times in recent years, and had always found them hospitable, and growing more and more curious about the mission, of which so much had been said to them. And this was not the only field already white with the harvest. Every exploring expedition that had visited the San Francisco peninsula, or the region east of the bay, and along the rivers flowing into it, had reported that numerous Indians resided there, and most of them were docile and apparently ready to receive instruction.

Missionaries were not lacking, and had not been since the ten friars had arrived at Monterey in May, 1771. Since then, Padre Palou and five associates had come from Lower California; Padres Piña and Figuer had arrived in 1772, and Padre Mugartegui had come with the padre presidente when he returned from Mexico in 1774. These, with the five who accompanied the sacred expedition, made a total of twenty-four* who had come to California, but five of these

^{*}The twenty-four were: Padres Junípero Serra, Juan Crespi, Juan Viscaino, Fernando Parron, and Francisco Gomez, who came with the sacred expedition. Arrived in May, 1771: Padres Antonio Paterna, Antonio Cruzado, Francisco

had returned to their college on account of failing health, and one had met martyrdom in the attack on the mission at San Diego, so that there were now eighteen friars in all, with only five missions in which they could make themselves useful.*

During much of the time for five years there had been eight idle missionaries, and sometimes more, waiting impatiently, to be about the work they had come so far to do. Far away in his capital at Mexico, the viceroy was quite as impatient to get them started. Some of them had been hurried over from Spain in 1770, because the king's interests in the New World were supposed to have urgent need for them. When they arrived, there were so many calls for them from the northern provinces that it was only with difficulty that the father guardian had been persuaded to send ten of the party of forty-nine to Padre Junipero. Since then there had been frequent and urgent inquiry, from viceroy and guardian, as to how they were employed, and the padre presidente had been able to return no better answer than that he had not been

Dumetz, Angel Somera, Miguel Pieras, Buenaventura Sitjar, Domingo Juncosa, José Cavaller, Luis Jayme, Pedro Benito Cambón. In 1772: Padres Tomás de la Peña, and Juan Figuer. With Padre Francisco Palou in 1773: Gregorio Amúrrio, Fermin Francisco de Lasuén, Juan Prestamero, Vicente Fuster, José Antonio Murguía. With Padre Serra in 1773: Pablo Mugártegui; he had been assigned to the San José in 1769.

The five who had returned to Mexico because of ill health were: Padres Gomez

The five who had returned to Mexico because of ill health were: Padres Gomez and Parron, who had never recovered from the scurvy contracted on ship board; Viscaino, who had been wounded in the first attack on the party at San Diego; and Padres Paterna and Cruzado on account of general ill health. Padre Jayme had been killed in the attack on San Diego mission.

^{*}The laws of Burgos, by which the missions were governed, provided that two missionaries, neither more nor less, should be assigned to each mission, although in case of sickness or of an unusual demand for religious instruction, a supernumerary might be employed for a time. When so employed, he should receive half pay, or \$200, a year; if not employed regularly or as supernumeraries, they received nothing but rations.

able to found missions for them, for lack of soldiers. The civil, and not the religious authorities in California were responsible for this lack of progress. Taking no heed of the experience of his predecessor, Rivera had adopted a course even more obstructive. Although specially admonished by the viceroy himself, to work in harmony with the missionaries for the advancement of the king's interests and the cause of religion, he did not find it agreeable to do so. His unhappy temperament made it impossible for him to work harmoniously with any one. Padre Junípero, who had complained of Fages' lack of enterprise, soon found that he had many times more reason to complain of that of his successor, whose appointment he had indirectly recommended. In vain he reminded the obstinate comandante of the viceroy's specific orders; in vain he pointed to his idle missionaries, to the church furniture and other supplies long since sent forward for the missions at San Francisco, San Buenaventura, and Santa Clara; and equally in vain did he report matters to the viceroy and send the replies of that august official to the presidio; not a soldier did he get assigned to found either of the waiting missions.

The arrival of Anza and his party promised to put an end to this long period of inaction, but he had scarcely been welcomed to San Carlos before an order was received from Rivera, at San Diego, directing that the settlers he had brought should remain at Monterey for an indefinite time—or until he should return. This order Anza might well have ignored, because he had not yet formally relinquished command of the party, but he did not do so. Disregarding the insult

to himself, and mindful, as always, only of his duty as a soldier, he wrote to the petulant commander, remonstrating against the course he was pursuing, pointing out that the viceroy's orders could not be complied with unless the order was withdrawn, and offering to remain at Monterey until Rivera himself could return, if he could do so within a reasonable time, in order that what they had been directed to do might be done as the viceroy wished. Then he went forward to do what he could alone.

He had scarcely left San Gabriel to return to his presidio, before Rivera sent another order to Monterey, directing Lieutenant Moraga to proceed at once to found the presidio, on the site which had been selected. Nothing was to be done about the mission; that was to wait until a more convenient time.

If we might suspect one whose actions had been so uniformly governed by caprice, of making shrewd use of an opportunity to relieve himself from an embarrassing predicament, we might guess that Rivera now planned to make the most of the opportunity to get himself released from the ban of excommunication. He knew the burning desire of the padres to get the three new missions which had so long waited, and particularly the one at San Francisco, founded. He knew also, that little as they had reason to care for him, they would realize that he must desire to be present on occasions of so much importance as these foundations, which he could not be while under the ban, for no priest would perform any religious ceremony in his presence. By delaying matters until he could return from San Diego, many things might happen to favor his desires.

Higher authority, or stronger influences than those of the presidente or his associates, might bring about what he desired; or perhaps, in time, he might come to a better understanding with them himself.

If he so planned, it availed him little. His order was carried to Monterey by Sergeant Grijalva, who, with the twelve families of Anza's party, which had been left at San Gabriel, was now ordered north. Within a few days after they arrived, the San Carlos, with the first cargo of supplies for the year, dropped her anchor in the harbor. She brought orders that would have sadly conflicted with that of the comandante, even if they had not been issued by the viceroy himself; for they required Captain Quiros, who was in command, to take on board all the property of the soldiers and colonists, the church goods, house furniture, farm implements, and supplies for the two new missions, as well as for the presidio, and convey them to San Francisco.

It is not easy to determine just how far Moraga, Quiros, and the padres matured their plans for what they finally did, before leaving Monterey, but it seems reasonably certain that they resolved to proceed to found one, if not two, missions, simultaneously with the presidio, and in defiance of Rivera's order. They were certainly justified in doing so, if they did not, for it was clear that that was what the viceroy expected. If all the people and their belongings, the church furniture for the missions, the cattle and the pack animals, the implements for cultivating, and seeds for planting the mission farms and gardens were sent on, some buildings to shelter and other means to protect them,

would need to be provided. Clearly the viceroy did not intend that the church furniture should be left unused, or that the settlers he had sent so far should be refused the offices of the church, particularly when eight priests had been waiting to begin work, and two more, Padres Vicente de Santa María and José Nocedal, one of whom at least was to remain, had just arrived. Under the circumstances, it seems to be reasonably clear that all concerned would determine in advance to do what was done, and that is probably what they did, although all the accounts have agreed in representing that Moraga, Quiros, and the missionaries gathered courage but slowly to disregard Rivera's order, and did nothing until practically compelled to.

Padre Junípero was unable to accompany the expedition, although he must have felt it to be a great deprivation not to be present at the planting of the mission which was so peculiarly to honor the founder of his order. He was compelled—or thought he was—to go to San Diego, to look after the rebuilding of the ruined mission there, which, like most other things that Rivera controlled, proceeded not at all. He designated his next friend, Padre Palou, to represent him at the ceremony, and with Padre Cambón, to remain in charge of the mission when established.

On June 17, 1776, Moraga and his party, consisting of Sergeant Grijalva, two corporals, sixteen soldiers, and seven colonists, together with five Indians in charge of a train of pack mules carrying supplies, the two priests, with two Indian servants, two neophytes and an interpreter, started northward. They followed the route, now grown almost familiar since

Fages had pioneered it six years before, and on June 27th, arrived at the little arroyo, which Anza had named Dolores, where the fifteen tents with which they were provided were pitched, and a little enclosure of brush wood constructed in which Padre Palou celebrated the first mass on June 29th, the feast of the Apostles Peter and Paul.

Just one day earlier, in a city on the opposite side of the continent, and almost as near the Atlantic as this newly begun mission was to the Pacific, a committee of five earnest men, quite as completely consecrated to the work they were engaged in as these missionaries were to theirs, reported to a congress of men as earnest as themselves, a document, since famous in world history as the Declaration of Independence.

While waiting for the San Carlos, which had been detained, first by want of an order from Rivera for the removal of two cannon, which the viceroy had directed to be sent to the new fort, and afterward by storms which drove her far out of her course, Moraga employed his men in cutting timber for buildings at the presidio and mission. For nearly a month all lived at the camp near the mission site, but when, at the end of that time the ship had not arrived, all the soldiers but six were removed to a new camp near the site of the presidio. Here work had been progressing so favorably, that on July 28th enough huts had been built to give all temporary shelter, and a chapel was so nearly complete that Padre Palou said mass in it for the first time on that day. Three days later the temporary chapel at the mission was occupied and mass celebrated in it. While this was not a formal dedicaTHE SAN CARLOS ENTERING THE BAY OF SAN FRANCISCO, AUGUST 5, 1775

The first ship to enter the port.

Drawn by WALTER FRANCIS for
"The Beginnings of San Francisco."

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tion, the ceremony was considered so important that Padre Palou opened the mission registers of baptism,* deaths, marriages, etc., as of that day, and in after years it came to be regarded as the date of its founding.

The San Carlos sailed through the Golden Gate for the second time on the morning of August 18th, and Captain Quiros soon had his sailors at work with the soldiers on the presidio buildings. Plans had been prepared by Pilot José Cañizares for an enclosure of palings 92 varas—or about 253 feet—square, with houses for the officers, barracks for the soldiers, a storehouse, chapel, etc., within it. These, like the presidio wall, were built of palings, but were plastered with mud and roofed with a thatch of tules. After the work on these buildings was well advanced, Captain Quiros and his men went over to the mission site, and assisted the padres in building a permanent chapel, and a house of the same style as the buildings at the fort. These, if not finished, were well advanced by the middle of September, and the feast of the Impression of the Wounds of Saint Francis,† or September 17th, was chosen for the dedication and formal occupation of the military post and colony; that for the opening of the mission was postponed until the feast of Saint Francis, October 4th.

ings of the crucified Savior, Saint Francis fell into a deep sleep and when he awake found scars in his hands, feet, and side resembling the five wounds of the Crucifixion. This was on the night of September 17th, and members of the Franciscan Order now observe the day as that of the Impression of the Wounds of Saint Franciscan.

^{*}The first entry in this register is of the baptism of Francisco José de los Dolores Soto, son of Ignacio and Barbara Soto, of the Anza party, the first white child born on the site of the present city of San Francisco, though not the first born in this state; that distinction should probably belong to the boy born on Christmas Eve near the summit of the San Jacinto Mountains, to parents whose names were not mentioned either by Anza or by Font. José Soto was baptized August 10th. The second baptism was that of Juana Maria Lorenza Sanchez on August 25th.

† The story is that after a long period of fasting and meditation on the safereings of the crucified Savior, Saint Francis fell into a deep sleep and when he awake

The ceremony of dedicating the presidio was similar to that performed on former occasions of the same kind, and all the sailors and soldiers present took part in Padre Palou, assisted by Padre Cambón, formally blessed and raised the great cross, which was duly venerated. He then sang a solemn high mass, assisted by Padres Cambón, Nocedal and Peña, the two last named having come up from Monterey to select a site for the mission Santa Clara, which the viceroy had again ordered to be founded at once. At the conclusion of the mass, the ceremony of taking possession of the country, in the name of the king and viceroy, was performed, the whole concluding with the singing of the Te Deum, while the bells of the mission were rung, the cannon on the ship discharged, and the soldiers fired a volley from their muskets. The remainder of the day was devoted to feasting, and such amusements as the party chose to engage in.

The founding in this way of the presidio, on this the 17th day of September, 1776, was in effect the founding of the colony, and may properly be regarded also as the founding of the future city.

That the mission buildings were not formally dedicated at the same time may perhaps be ascribed, as it has been, to some faint hope still entertained by the padres that Rivera might, at the eleventh hour assent to it, and so leave no chance for doubt as to the propriety or regularity of the ceremony; but it seems more likely that they chose to postpone it for another reason. The feast of Saint Francis, their "seraphic father," would occur on October 4th, then only seventeen days distant. Nothing could be more

appropriate than to dedicate the mission which was to honor the name and the fame of the founder of their order, on his own day. There was little hope that the obdurate comandante would in the meantime relent; if he did, the news of it would be agreeable, and if he did not, they would go forward and complete what they had already so well begun.

Ouiros and Moraga now planned to cooperate in exploring the river which Crespi had named the San Francisco, and the country beyond, but they did not accomplish very much. Quiros and a party of sailors set off in a small boat, with provisions for only eight days, while Moraga, going by the old route around the bay which Ortega and Anza had followed, found that he was unable to meet the captain at the time and place agreed upon, and so crossed the hills direct to the San Joaquin Valley. From a high ridge on its western edge he got a fairly good view of it, but could not determine its extent nor very much about its nature, except that it seemed to be a level plain of vast width, traversed by five rivers. Guided by some Indians, he found a ford by which he crossed the first of these, and traveled one whole day in what seemed to be an interminable plain, without reaching any of the other streams he thought he had seen. Finding no water, he was compelled to return, and made his way back to the peninsula by the most direct route.

Meantime, the padres had made as elaborate preparations as they could, to dedicate the new mission, apparently in some uncertainty as to whether Moraga would permit the ceremony to be performed when he should return. On October 3d, the eve of the feast

of Saint Francis, Padre Palou solemnly blessed the nicely decorated building, but on the following day, only a mass was said, as Moraga had not returned. He arrived on the evening of the 7th, and the formal dedication took place on the 8th,* when the mission was named San Francisco de Asis. At last Saint Francis had his mission "in his own port."

It would be most interesting to know, if we possibly could, just where the first temporary buildings of this now famous mission were located. That they were situated on or near the shore of the little laguna, or lake, which Anza had named Manantial, afterwards known as Dolores, we know, but how far from the shore, there is no one to tell. Pioneers are notably negligent of their monuments, and there is no Old Mortality who revisits them at stated periods, to remove the moss and vines which cover them and with pious hand rechisel their inscriptions. Rarely indeed is there left living, while any of the monuments themselves remain, some oracle like that venerable cashier of the South Sea House, whose figure Elia has so vividly drawn for us. How would not the people of the new San Francisco appreciate some relic of the old, who could as confidently and as eloquently describe these early mission buildings, and point out the sites of Lake Manantial, the Willows and the Arroyo Dolores, as he could tell where Rosomond's Pond, the Mulberry Gardens, and the Conduit in Cheap once stood in London!

^{*} Bancroft says October 9th, but Fray Zephyrin Englehardt, who is particularly careful in everything that pertains to the missions or the missionaries, says the 8th, and there is other evidence that this was the day.

Some years ago—in 1865—while people were yet living who had seen these places in their childhood, or had heard their fathers tell of them, Mr. Dwinelle bethought him to inquire as to their location. The best information he was able to obtain was given by Doña Carmen Sibrian de Bernal, "a woman of great vivacity and intelligence" as he describes her, and then sixty-one years old, having been born at Monterey in 1804, or thirty-eight years after these buildings had been erected. She said that the tradition was that when the fathers came from Monterey to establish the mission, they camped "at a pond which existed where the Willows now are." He says further that "the Willows was a resort of the early fifties, occupying what is now the block between Valencia, Mission, 18th and 19th streets."*

Mr. Eldredge, who has traced out the location of the lake and the little stream that flowed through it into Mission Bay, with more care than any other writer, finds that the lake "covered the present city blocks bounded by 15th, 20th, Valencia, and Howard streets."†

There can be no doubt that the temporary buildings for this mission were situated on or near the shore of this lake, though General Vallejo, in his centennial address in 1876, says they were placed one thousand varas northwest of the final location. In this he was evidently mistaken, for there was no water near that point. Palou, in his Life of Padre Junípero, indicates

^{*} John W. Dwinelle: The Colonial History of the City of San Francisco, p. 44, et seq.

[†] The Beginnings of San Francisco by Zoeth S. Eldredge, p. 328, et seq.

that they were west of the lake, and La Perouse, who did not visit San Francisco, copies a Spanish map showing them in that neighborhood. It is more than likely that they were not far from the permanent mission church, which still remains. Those who incline to speculate about a matter for which there is no absolute proof, will perhaps find it satisfactory to begin with the assumption that the cemetery, which remains, would be placed near the temporary church, and the permanent church would as surely be placed near the cemetery, and probably on the opposite side. This assumption would locate the buildings a short distance south of the present church; it would also account for the other mission buildings being on the left instead of the right hand side of it, which seems to have been usual.

During all these months no word had come from Rivera, who was at San Diego doing nothing to help rebuild the mission which the Indians had destroyed, and little else that was likely to benefit the king, the church, or the colony. When Padre Junipero arrived there, as he did early in July, by the San Antonio, he found Padres Fuster, Lasuén, and Amúrrio waiting in forced idleness at the presidio. The two lastnamed had been assigned to the new mission of San Juan Capistrano, work on which had been suspended at the time of the massacre, and not yet resumed. All three were much discouraged, and inclined to ask permission to return to their college. They reported to the father president that the Indians were entirely pacified, and that Rivera had so informed the viceroy; that the ringleaders were in prison, and Rivera was

threatening to send them to San Blas for punishment, a policy which, in their opinion, was the worst that could be pursued.

This state of things was not to be endured much longer, and Padre Junípero bestirred himself to get something done. He found Captain Choquet, of the San Antonio, quite disposed to help him, and he gladly availed himself of his assistance. Rivera reluctantly furnished a small guard, and Choquet, with twenty of his sailors, his mate, and two minor officers, accompanied the padre presidente to the ruined buildings where, with the aid of such Indians as were found in the neighborhood, the ruins were soon cleared away and the work of rebuilding begun. For fifteen days it proceeded without interruption, during which time about 7,000 adobe bricks had been made, and much stone for building purposes collected. The bricks were to be used in building a wall to enclose the whole mission, for purposes of defense, and this would soon have been completed had not Rivera interfered. That worthy had so far only grudgingly tolerated such well-directed activity in his jurisdiction, and now, on the pretext that the Indians were planning another uprising, arbitrarily withdrew his guard and brought the work to a stop. Captain Choquet protested, as did Padre Junípero, but all to no purpose, and, as nothing further could be done, and nobody could find, or give a reason why, Captain Choquet sailed away for San Blas to report matters to the viceroy.

But his report was not needed to make an end of Rivera's capricious management of affairs in Alta California, for his recall had been determined upon

some months earlier. A forceful ruler like Bucareli would not long endure to have his orders neglected and his plans frustrated without finding out where the fault lay; nor would he fail to correct the difficulty when he found it. Unfortunately for Rivera, Governor Barri in the peninsula was a man of a habit and temperament much like his own. He had guarreled with the Franciscans while they were leaving his jurisdiction, and with the Dominicians who had succeeded them, as well as with his associates in civil authority. Like Rivera, he had been cautioned to work in harmony with the missionaries. This admonition had been repeated and yet complaints of his conduct became so frequent as to make it apparent that the only remedy must be his removal. Accordingly in March, 1775, he was relieved, and Felipe de Neve became his successor. The new governor's authority in the north, like Barri's, was at first intended to be only nominal, but in August a royal order, issued no doubt through the influence of Gálvez who was now in Spain, was received directing him to remove his headquarters from Loreto to Monterey, which thenceforth was to be the capital of both Californias. Rivera was assigned to Loreto, where he was to exercise authority over the peninsula similar to that he had enjoyed in Alta California, being subject to Neve only in so far as to forward his reports through his office.

As news traveled slowly in those days, he had not learned of this change, when late in September a reinforcement of twenty-five soldiers reached him by way of Velicatá. With them came very positive instructions that they were to be employed in rebuilding the burned mission buildings at San Diego, and in completing those begun a year earlier at San Juan Capistrano, work on which had been suspended by the Indian uprising and never since resumed. Padre Junípero also received a letter from the viceroy about this time complimenting his missionary zeal, reapproving his policy of mission discipline, and notifying him that he had instructed Rivera "that the principal business of the day is the reëstablishment of mission San Diego, and the refounding of that of San Juan Capistrano."*

The reception of this news was joyously celebrated by Padre Junípero and his assistants, by the ringing of the mission bells and with a special celebration of the mass, all of which must have been as gall and wormwood to the crestfallen *comandante*, who wished to use the new recruits to reinforce his presidios, where they could have been of little service except for display where there were none to admire.

All this, had they known it, would have relieved any anxiety that Lieutenant Moraga and Padres Palou, Cambón, Peña, and Murguía may have had, about their disobedience of orders in founding the mission San Francisco, and preparing the way for that at Santa Clara, and lessened their surprise at the comandante's gracious approval of all they had done, upon his arrival some weeks later. As nothing else could be done, now that the nature of the orders he had received was as well known to the friars as himself, Rivera complied with them with such grace as was possible. The new

^{*} Bucareli to Serra; April 3, 1776; quoted by Fray Zephyrin in Missions and Missionaries of California, Vol. II, p. 213.

recruits were divided between San Diego and San Juan, and the Indian prisoners he had threatened to send to San Blas, were set at liberty.

Both at the new mission and the old, the Indians were found so favorably inclined to help in the work of building and rebuilding that new churches and other necessary structures were soon ready for occupation. These were for the most part of a temporary kind, calculated to serve only until something more permanent could replace them. Those at San Diego were ready for occupation by the middle of October. The mission registers were restored by Padres Fuster and Lasuén, from memory, the former adding an account of the massacre, and Padre Junípero some notes on the founding and earlier history of the mission. San Juan was dedicated on November 1st and Padres Mugártegui and Amúrrio placed in charge.

After assigning the recruits received from Velicatá to their new billets, agreeably to the instructions from the viceroy which he no longer dared to disregard, Rivera went north to Monterey and San Francisco. Much to the surprise of the padres and all others concerned—who as yet knew nothing of the new orders he had received—he manifested no displeasure on learning that the mission at the latter place had been established and dedicated without his consent, but on the contrary, seemed to be well satisfied that so much progress had been made. He also found considerable progress had been made toward the establishment of the second mission, which had so long before been ordered for that neighborhood; for before the mission of San Francisco had been dedicated, Padres Peña and

Murguía, who had been assigned to this new mission when it should be established, had come up from Monterey, and after looking over the ground near the head of the bay, had chosen a site for it in the Guadalupe River. After inspecting this site, he graciously approved its selection and then, in company with Moraga, set out to make another exploration of the country east of the bay, but before they had proceeded very far, news came of an Indian uprising at the mission San Luis Obispo, and the exploration was abandoned. For the time being, also, the founding of Santa Clara was postponed.

The trouble at San Luis grew out of the jealousy of some of the unconverted Indians, who attacked the converts rather than the mission itself; but in the battle the buildings were set on fire, and all save the church and granary were destroyed. When Rivera arrived there, the trouble was over and rebuilding had begun, leaving him nothing to do but capture the ringleaders of the disturbance and take them to Monterey for punishment.

Returning north from San Luis in December, when there was no further fear of trouble in that neighborhood, Rivera directed Moraga to proceed with the founding of Santa Clara, but he did not wait to attend the ceremony himself, a fact which indicates that he was still under the ban of excommunication.*

When the Christmas and New Year holidays had been celebrated, the lieutenant with nine soldiers and one colonist with their families and Padre Peña,

^{*} I have found nowhere any evidence that it was ever removed, though it probably was.

took their way southward along the bay shore to the site on the Rio Guadalupe which had been previously selected, and there on January 12, 1777, the eighth mission in Alta California was founded, with the usual ceremonies. A piece of ground about seventy varas square was made ready for the mission buildings, and then a small guard was sent to Monterey to bring up Padre Murguía, the church furniture, vestments and bells, and the farm implements and cattle which had so long been waiting at San Carlos. They arrived January 21st, when Moraga returned to his presidio.

After attending the final celebration of the mass at San Juan Capistrano, Padre Junípero started homeward, traveling leisurely and visiting the missions as he went along. He found most of the missionaries discouraged and discontented; some were inclined to ask permission to return to their college, but the contents of the viceroy's latest letter, which the padre presidente reported to them, were regarded as so reassuring that all took new hope. They did not as yet know that Rivera was to be recalled, or they would have been still more hopeful and confident. Fortunately for them, they could not foresee what the future had in store for them, for they were soon to encounter new and more numerous troubles, and some of them quite as hard to bear as the old. Rivera had discouraged them by his apathy; Neve would soon exasperate them with his activity.

Soon after the padre presidente arrived at San Carlos, as he did early in January, he received another letter from the viceroy assuring him that Rivera's conduct had not met with his approval, and notifying him that the newly appointed governor had been a second time

directed to hasten his removal to Monterey. He had instructed him, he said, to see to the rebuilding of the San Diego mission, and the founding of those at San Juan and Santa Clara, if this had not already been attended to before his arrival. He was also to prepare the way, as expeditiously as possible, for three new missions on the Santa Barbara Channel, though the founding of them would need to be delayed until the others were firmly established.

Welcome as this news was to the head of the mission, it was not more welcome than the added assurance that the new governor had been instructed to adopt a milder policy in the management of the Indian converts, and "to act in everything in accord with your reverence." From this it seemed certain that the missionaries would thenceforth be able to manage affairs at the missions more completely than they had been permitted to do so far; that in matters of discipline particularly, they would be able to temper justice with mercy, and govern their wards as a father governing his children. That was the policy, Croix had assured Padre Junípero, on the occasion of his visit to the capital, that was to be pursued. The mission guard, while acting as the police power, should punish delinquents without cruelty, and the padres should in all cases decide when the punishment was sufficient. Thus by holding the pardoning power, as it were, their influence would be increased; they would attach the converts to them by bonds of affection, and their ability to attract other Indians to the missions would be increased. The course Rivera had pursued at San Diego had made many of the neophytes who had not been concerned in the massacre, distrustful of both the missionaries and soldiers, since the friars seemed to have no power to protect, or palliate the punishment of any, and some were induced to return with the greatest difficulty. There had been similar trouble at San Gabriel, and the padres found their influence so much impaired and their work unnecessarily hindered that some were quite discouraged. But now with a new governor coming, and the assurance of the viceroy that a new policy more to their liking would be established, all took new hope.

Neve arrived at Monterey on February 3, 1777, and a month later Rivera left for his new post at Loreto. The new governor began his administration in a business-like manner, making trips northward to inspect the new presidio at San Francisco and the two missions near it, and taking other effective means to inform himself as to the conditions and needs of all parts of his jurisdiction. As he had come up from Loreto by land, he had inspected the presidio at San Diego, and all the missions between it and Monterey, and informed himself as to their conditions. He had also taken note of the wonderfully populous region along the Santa Barbara Channel, and when he came to consult with the padre presidente, as he did after his return from the north, he easily agreed with him to recommend three new missions for that neighborhood. Eight missions were already in existence; with the three now proposed, the line of missions extending from San Diego to Saint Francis' "own port," as originally planned by Gálvez, would have in it no very great gap, although there would be room for other intermediate missions when it should be possible to found them. For the moment, the cause in which the friars were engaged seemed to be prospering as they wished.

So far Padre Junípero had never visited the new mission which honored the memory of the founder of his order, nor had he seen the great bay which bore his name. To complete the joy he felt at the changed prospect of affairs, he now prepared to make the long-delayed visit, and accordingly set forth in September, going by the land route. He was at Santa Clara on the 28th, where he celebrated high mass and preached on the next day. He was joyfully received at the mission San Francisco on October 1st and on the 4th, he also sang a high mass and preached to the settlers, the soldiers at the presidio and their families, who assembled at the mission for the occasion.

Things at the mission had not prospered as he had hoped. The Indians in the vicinity had been at war when the mission buildings were begun, and one tribe had driven a large part of another across the bay. Then the firing of muskets, and particularly of the cannon, at the ceremonies of founding the presidio and mission had so alarmed all the savages in the vicinity that they were slow about making the acquaintance of their new neighbors. When at last they began to revisit the neighborhood, they came with arms in their hands, as if expecting to encounter enemies and not friends. They also stole everything they could reach, and finally ventured to discharge a few arrows at the guards. At last it was thought necessary to give them an exhibition of what the weapons of white soldiers could do in a real battle, and a skirmish

resulted in which one Indian was killed and another wounded. A few of the more troublesome were captured and flogged, after which all promised to behave better in the future, a promise which was fairly well kept. At the end of the first year, however, the mission could boast of only seventeen converts.

The padre presidente remained at the new mission until October 10th, and during the intervening days paid a visit to the presidio, and was taken out to Point Lobos so that he might get a good view of the entrance to the harbor. Looking out over the broad bay, and the channel through which "such a tide as moving seems asleep," drew at his feet, he is said to have exclaimed: "Thanks be to God! Our Father Saint Francis, with the cross of the mission procession, has reached the end of the California continent; for to pass on he must have boats."

While these things were transpiring on the coast, Padre Garcés, who with Padre Esaire had been left among the Yumas, as Anza tells us "to teach religion to the Indians" until his return, had employed himself most actively in making explorations. Doubtless it was expected he would do this; possibly he was instructed to do it, for Anza had hardly started northward from the Colorado, with his settlers, before he set off down the river accompanied by only one or two Indians, and followed it to a point much nearer its mouth than he had been able to reach in 1771. He turned back only when the tide, which rises very high at the head of the gulf, and spreads over a vast area of the low lying desert in that neighborhood, absolutely forbade his further progress.

He returned to the junction of the Gila and the Colorado, where he left his companion, on January 3d, having been absent nearly a month. He found Esaire fairly well pleased with the progress he seemed to be making with instructing the Indians, and immediately began preparation to explore the river toward the north. Some Indians, belonging to a neighboring tribe living north of the junction and west of the Colorado, came to visit the Yumas before he was ready to start, and although they brought the news of the attack by the Diguenos on the San Diego mission, they assured Garcés that if he would visit their people he should receive a cordial welcome. The intrepid explorer joyfully accepted their invitation, not disturbed in the least by the news they brought, and never doubting his own ability to win a welcome, even among the most savage tribes he should encounter. February 14th he was ready to begin the new journey, one of the longest and most important he was ever to make.

His hope was that he would be able to find a new route, lying north of that which Anza had followed across the inhospitable desert, and leading more directly from the Colorado to the mission of San Luis Obispo, or some point further north—probably to Monterey itself.

Taking with him the Indian Estevan Tarabal, who had run away from the San Gabriel mission, and proved so inefficient as a guide for Anza in his first expedition, two other Indians belonging to one of the tribes he was about to visit, a mule laden with provisions and presents, and one or two horses, he set out on his long jour-

ney. He followed the Colorado toward the north for several days, until he reached the point where the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad now crosses it, or perhaps further north near Fort Mojave, where, leaving the river, he turned to the west, crossed the Providence Mountains by an easy pass, some distance south of that by which the railroad now crosses, and traveling through a sandy country where water was sometimes not easily found, he discovered the Mojave River at its sink.

From this point, he followed the newly-found river for some days. He found it turning much more to the south than he wished to go, and when he protested against the direction his guides were taking, and insisted upon their leading him more directly toward the west, they replied that this was the only road they knew. As he was now in a mountainous region, he was compelled to follow where they led, until he reached the summit of the San Bernardino Mountains, from which he caught sight of the ocean and the Santa Ana River, which he had crossed two years before with Anza's exploring party. Descending into the valley, he soon came upon the trail leading to San Gabriel mission, where he arrived March 24th, and received a cordial welcome from the padres.

During this journey, he had generally been well received by the Indians where he found them; he had met with several new tribes, whose language his Indian companions could only imperfectly understand. Some of them were very poor, and all were naked or nearly so, but generally they willingly gave him of what they had to eat. In one place they were so nearly starved

that they could give nothing, and he was compelled to kill one of his horses to get food for his party and save them from starvation.

From San Gabriel he planned to go by the coast route to San Luis, and then explore a road back to the Colorado at or near the point where he had left it. In order to do this he needed animals and a new outfit generally, and he applied for these to the officer in charge of the mission guard, who refused them, claiming lack of authority. He then wrote to Comandante Rivera, who was still at San Diego, and he also refused to provide him. But coming northward a few days later, on his way to Monterey, Garcés pointed out to him that there was no reason why he should not be supplied, as he was on the king's business, and there. was evidently no lack of what he required at San Gabriel. Rivera, smarting under his recent excommunication, and perhaps contemplating his early meeting with Anza with no very pleasant anticipation, listened most unwillingly to arguments which he could not refute, but persisted in his refusal. He wanted no communication with the Indians of the Colorado, he said, and did not desire to see any new road opened up from the coast to their country. He had given orders at the mission that visitors from those tribes should not be received there, nor dealt with in any way. If possible all visitors from that direction were to be seized and punished. Garcés expostulated with him on the unwisdom of this policy, pointing out that it would not only enrage those who had been punished, but all their fellow tribesmen; and would endanger the lives of all the missionaries and other Spaniards

who might be on the Colorado or even beyond. It would also be likely to provoke attacks upon those coming from New Spain to the coast, and so the object of Anza's enterprise, which was to find a way of communication between the two provinces, would be defeated.

Though the comandante remained obdurate, the padres at the mission supplied Garcés with what he required, after Rivera had departed, and he set off on a new exploration. He had intended, or expected, to accompany the comandante from San Gabriel to San Luis; but finding him in such an unwilling humor, he abandoned that plan and turned directly north, going between the San Gabriel and Santa Monica Mountains, past the site where the mission of San Fernando was subsequently founded, and pressing northward, crossed the mountains, probably by way of Turner's and Tejon passes. Descending into the Tulare Valley, he came upon Indians so far different from any he had previously encountered that they lived in enclosed camps, in which each family had its separate house, the walls and roofs of which were built of tules, and where guards were regularly stationed during the night. Some of these helped him to cross the Kern River near the present city of Bakersfield. As he advanced northward, his Indian companions became more and more distrustful of the unknown tribes whose country they were entering, and finally refused to go further; but not to be defeated by their timidity, Garcés found a new guide, and with his help, made a five days' journey further north to White River, where, having no more presents for the strange Indians

when he encountered them, and being compelled to depend wholly upon them for food, he reluctantly turned back. He had reached the latitude of Tulare Lake, although he did not see it, being much farther east, and probably not far from the base of the mountains.

He was now in that great interior valley toward which the gold hunters of the world turned so eagerly three quarters of a century later. Lightly concealed in the beds of its mountain streams father north lay more gold than Cortez had wrung from Mexico, or Pizzaro from Peru-more than the golden sands of Pactolus had yielded, more than the fabled riches of Ormus and of Ind; and succeeding generations would find in the soil of the valley itself an equal and far more permanent source of wealth. He had opened the way thither; alone, unhelped by a single fellow-being of his kind or kindred, he had explored it, braving the unknown dangers of the wilderness, the heat and thirst of the desert, the rush of mountain torrents, the ferocity of wild beasts and the treachery of savages. He had reduced himself so nearly to the level of the savage that he was able to live as he lived, feed as he fed upon the vilest food, sleeping as he slept in his filthy and vermin-haunted camps, and exposing his life constantly to his treacherous impulses. And it all availed nothing.

On rejoining his Indian companions, he set out to return by a route lying much more to the east than that by which he had come, probably crossed the mountains at the Tehachapi Pass, and following the route of the Southern Pacific Railroad of the present day to the neighborhood of Mojave, went thence direct to the Colorado.

There he received a letter from Anza, which had long been waiting for him, notifying him to return to the confluence of the Gila if he wished to go back to his mission in his company; but as that was now impossible, he resolved upon a new expedition to the country of the Moguis, a warlike tribe living far to the east, whom he had long been anxious to visit. He was now but poorly provided for an enterprise of this kind, but he nevertheless set resolutely forward. He reached the country of the Moquis, but they absolutely refused to admit him to their camps, or give him food or entertainment of any kind. He persisted in his hope of coming to a better understanding with them, but after remaining four days, he returned sorrowfully back to the Colorado, and the Yuma country. Thence following the Gila he reached San Javier del Bac in September.

In all this long tour he was accompanied only by Indians. Estevan Tarabal appears to have been his only constant companion. He frequently had others, but they changed from time to time, being afraid to pass very far beyond the boundaries of their own country. These served him as interpreters. Everywhere he told the story he was so anxious to tell, and rejoiced to find that it was listened to with attention, and often with so much interest as to convince him that all the peoples he visited were, or would be, ready to welcome missionaries when they could be sent them. Often it was difficult for him to make himself understood, but he was able to learn a few words from the language of nearly every tribe, and by the aid of Estevan and the Indians from neighboring tribes who

accompanied him, he was generally able, as he believed, to make them comprehend most of what he said to them. He carried with him his banner, on one side of which was a picture of the Mother and Child, on the other, that of a lost soul suffering the torments that the wicked are supposed to encounter. The Indians generally looked at the first picture with delight, frequently at the other with abhorrence, and this the credulous missionary thought to be a most favorable indication. He also relied upon his compass, his cross, his rosary, and his missal as sure means of rousing interest. Always he offered the cross to be kissed, and generally it was kissed by most present. The compass they looked at with unfailing interest and delight, asked many questions in regard to it, and endeavored in curious ways to solve its mystery. He made it a rule always to tell his beads and sing a hymn every evening before retiring, and in this also the Indians took much interest. Sometimes on arriving in a new village, or even among a new people, they would ask him to begin his prayers, or sing his hymn for their entertainment. Every evening, according to Padre Font, who knew him well, it was his custom to gather the people about him, and talk to them for hours about God, the Savior, and on other religious subjects. Often when he could not speak their language, and when his interpreters were of little use to him, he managed to make himself intelligible by those signs which the Indians generally understand, and which by long experience, he had learned to use. He depended on the Indians for his food, ate what they had to give him, and, as Padre Font tells us, often "thought it very good."

After reaching his mission, he rewrote his diary, and added some reflections, or suggestions that ought to have been valuable to those in authority, though they were not. He gave an estimate of the number of Indians in the various tribes he had visited, and of the number of missions and presidios that would be required to subdue and control them. He pointed out the most favorable places for locating these institutions, and suggested the routes by which they would most easily be supplied. In fact, he furnished those in authority a vast amount of information they had not before possessed, all of which should have been most useful to them, but it was not, for the sole reason that they did not use it.

CHAPTER XI. THE BEGINNING OF LAW



OVERNOR FELIPE DE NEVE is called California's first lawgiver, a distinction he had little thought of acquiring at the time of his appointment. He was not a lawyer, and so far as known he had given little thought either to the making of laws or administering them, until he was made governor of Lower California in 1774. He was a soldier, like his predecessors, and when ordered to Monterey, held the rank of major in the Querétaro regiment of provincial cavalry. He possessed an active mind, a strong will and a calm temperament. He applied himself assiduously to whatever he had to do, and worked out all his undertakings with infinite patience and attention to detail. His regulations for the government of the military establishment, with which he was familiar, and for the establishment and management of the pueblo colonies, a subject to which he gave long and careful study, were models of completeness, and no doubt well suited to the time; those applicable to the missions had less to recommend them, because they were based on insufficient information, and an impracticable theory.

While at Loreto he had shown an inclination to manage affairs with prudent economy, and this had commended him to the favor of Bucareli, whose labors were not over frequently lightened, as we may suppose, by assistance of that kind from his subordinates. The presidios and missions in that province, as in Alta California, were still supplied by ships from San Blas—a system that was both irregular and expensive, and Neve had suggested the founding of a colony of white people, at some promising place in the upper part of

the peninsula, whose surplus products of grain and cattle might be purchased for the military and missionary establishments, thus securing a more regular supply, and at less cost than by the old system. The experiment had been authorized, but no step had been taken to put it to the test, when a new comandante for Alta California was demanded, and he was appointed. In assigning him to the new post, Bucareli had advised him to look out for a favorable place to make the experiment in his new province, while traveling northward; and this he did, finding much to encourage his hope of success as he advanced. The rugged mountains of the peninsula, bordered by an almost barren coast, with only here and there a patch of ground capable of irrigation or cultivation, gradually changed to a more open country, with broad fertile valleys, undulating plains and wooded hills. The stunted pines gave way to the palm and the vine, the agave and cactus to succulent grasses and the more frequent streams were bordered by trees and shrubs of many kinds. Spreading oaks dotted the valleys, or found fellowship along the hills with the maple, birch, sycamore, laurels, juniper, and stately redwoods. On the Porciúncula, where Portolá had found the grass "so tall that the animals had to jump to get through it," he chose one site for a pueblo; and when some months later, after he had taken office and placed his affairs in some order, he made his first excursion to the new presidio of San Francisco, he found another that seemed equally, or perhaps even more favorable to his purpose, he determined to recommend that two experiments be made in place of one. After consultations with Moraga, and finding that some of the people then living near the presidio and mission could be spared for the purpose, while others might be found at Monterey, he resolved to begin it at once.

Early in November, 1777, nine soldiers with their families were chosen from the presidios at Monterey and San Francisco, and these together with three settlers, who with their families, had accompanied Anza from Sonora, and two other families—probably those of some soldiers whose term of enlistment had expired—were sent under Moraga's care, to the Santa Clara Valley to found the first colony of Spanish settlers in California. The first temporary buildings, composed of palisades plastered and roofed with clay, were erected on the east bank of the Guadalupe, a little less than two miles southeast of the mission,* and the town of San José de Guadalupe was founded, November 29th.

To each new settler, a building lot in the pueblo, and a plot of ground outside it that could be irrigated, and sufficient for planting about three bushels of maize, was assigned. Each also received two horses, two oxen, two cows, two sheep and two goats, together with farm implements and seed for planting, all being supplied by the government upon agreement that their cost should be repaid in due time from the settlers' surplus products.

So far all was provisional only, for Neve's plan required the approval of higher authority before it

^{*} The exact spot on which these first temporary structures were built cannot now be located, even by those most familiar with the history of the thriving city. Even the abstracts of title do not show it, or give any indication of where it was. The suerties, or sowing lots, lay along the east side of the river and between it and the present business center of San José.

could be finally adopted, and that higher authority was now a new one. Almost simultaneous with his appointment—or at least with his removal to Monterey-a new jurisdiction had been created in New Spain, with a military governor as its chief executive, and the Californias were a part of it. Gálvez was now in Spain, where as minister of state for the Indies, it had been possible for him to put into effect the long cherished plan he had outlined in his memorial of 1768, only part of which he had been permitted to employ at that time. He had not forgot the other and more important part, nor had his belief in it been in the least impaired. In August, 1775, more than a year before the founding of the mission and presidio at San Francisco, he had procured an order from the king, establishing a separate government—designed to be entirely independent of the viceroy-for Sonora, Sinaloa, Nueva Viscaya, Coahuila, New Mexico, Texas, and the Californias. These had long been spoken of as the Provincias Internas, or internal provinces, and were now organized as a military comandancia, with Teodoro de Croix as commandant; and to him Neve had now been instructed to look as his immediate superior.

The new jurisdiction lay along the entire northern frontier of New Spain, and extended from the eastern border of Texas to San Francisco Bay. In it there were many warlike Indian tribes, like the Apaches and Moquis, who were a constant menace to the Spanish settlements, and among whom the missionaries had been able to make little progress. It was for that reason that a military comandancia rather than a

vice-royalty was created. The head of this new department, it was supposed, would have more to do with subduing these wild tribes, and bringing them into subjection, than with administering the affairs of settled government, and therefore a good soldier rather than a statesman was chosen for the position.

So far as Neve knew, or had reason to expect, at the time of his appointment, he was not likely to be called upon to make any changes or experiments during his term of office, which seemed likely to be a short one, as he desired to return to Spain, and some months later asked permission to resign in order that he might do so. After recommending the erection of the two pueblos, the three new missions on the Santa Barbara Channel, which Padre Junípero was so anxious to see planted there, and a presidio in their neighborhood, there did not appear to be any need for a particularly efficient governor in the province; nor would such an official find much to employ his activities until his recommendations should be approved, and the materials furnished for the new establishments. The three presidios and eight missions already in existence would require but little attention. The former had proved sufficient for all demands so far made on them, and the latter were slowly prospering-probably were thriving as well as could reasonably be hoped. At this distance of time, nothing seems to have been more desirable at the time of Neve's arrival, than to have matters go on much as they were going-or would go with a little helpful encouragement now and again to the missionaries—and devote his energies to working out his plans for founding his colonies of white settlers.

To have done this would have been to comply with his instructions, acceptably at least, as well as to promote the king's interests most effectively. The missions were relied upon principally, if not solely, to bring the Indians into subjection, and gradually change them from savages, who were a menace to his authority, into peaceable and orderly subjects who should be capable not only of supporting themselves, but of contributing, in a reasonable way, to the support of the state. They were making some progress in that In the eight years that had elapsed since direction. the first mission had been founded, between two and three thousand had been baptized, although missionary work had been much hindered by unnecessary obstruction. In a material way, also, the missions were doing fairly well. None were as rich as they afterwards became; all were not yet self-supporting; but their flocks and herds were increasing encouragingly, as was the yield of their cultivated lands, and they offered a fair prospect of being able to furnish something to supply the presidios, before the colonies the governor had intended to establish would be able to do so. surest hope of reducing the cost of maintaining both the presidios and the missions, the thing he was most anxious to do, undoubtedly lay in the direction of encouraging the efforts of the missionaries.

He had been particularly charged to work in harmony with them, as Fages and Rivera had been. His instructions included those given to Rivera, which formed the fundamental law of California for many years.

They admonished him to remember that the first object he was to have in view was the conversion of

the natives, who were to be gathered in mission towns for the purpose of civilization; and as these towns might become great cities, he was to select their sites with care, and avoid defects in all matters pertaining to their arrangements. He was authorized to assign lands to communities, and to such individuals as were disposed to work; but all must dwell in pueblos or at the missions, and all grants were to be made with legal formality. Missions were to be converted into pueblos when a sufficient number of their converts had advanced so far as to adopt the habits of civilized life, and each pueblo so created was to retain the name of the mission's patron saint. New missions might be founded whenever in the judgment of the commander and the padre presidente they should become necessary or desirable, and always with regard to the rights and security of the old ones.

The governor was of course charged with the control of the soldiers and the military establishments. He was authorized to enlist new soldiers, but new recruits, if married, must bring their families with them to the country, and if unmarried, they must have papers to show that fact. Communication with the peninsula was to be kept open; good faith must be kept with the Indians; and the control, education, and correction of the neophytes was to be left exclusively to the friars, acting in the capacity of fathers toward their children.

No vessels were to be admitted to California ports except the San Blas transports and the Manila galleons, and no trade was to be permitted either by the soldiers, friars, or settlers with foreign ships or with the transports. The captains of the transports were to have

exclusive control of their vessels while in harbor, and were not to admit on board, or take away with them any person without written authority from the governor, who was to grant such authority only for urgent reasons. Finally, these instructions were to be kept secret.

It needs to be noted here that this, the earliest code of California, contemplated a final change in the character of the mission, but indicated no time when it was expected to take place. At first, as heretofore stated, it had been supposed that ten years would be sufficient to make the great change in the Indian character, which the missions were to bring about, but it was soon found that a much longer time would be required. It was always kept in mind, however, that a time was expected to come when each Indian family would be capable of maintaining its own home and supporting itself respectably. Until that time came, the padre was to stand to them in the relation of a father to his family; afterwards they were to live in pueblos under the spiritual care of a curate who would have nothing to do with their temporal affairs.

While waiting for the approval of his recommendations in regard to the pueblos and new missions, Neve busied himself with improving the presidios. The old palisades which formed the only defense of the military storehouses, and the huts in which the soldiers lived at the presidios, and which had been but little improved since they were first erected, were torn away and something more substantial begun or completed in their place. At Monterey a stone wall twelve feet high and four feet thick, with a total length of five hundred

thirty-seven yards, was completed in July, 1778. It enclosed the governor's house and various other buildings, among which are enumerated ten adobe houses each twenty-one by twenty-four feet, with a barrack building of the same material one hundred and thirty-six by eighteen feet. At San Francisco, an adobe wall enclosing the presidio buildings was begun, and at San Diego some stone for building purposes was collected, but no use was made of it at the time.

There were at this time in the province besides the governor, two lieutenants, three sergeants, fourteen corporals, a hundred and forty soldiers, thirty servants, twenty settlers, five mechanics, three storekeepers, and one surgeon, most of whom had families.* The soldiers were to some extent employed in the governor's building operations, but not overworked. The labor was performed, in large part at least, by Indians, many of whom were not willing workers by any means. Truant neophytes, and those who persistently disobeyed the regulation, or were guilty of flagrant offenses, as well as gentiles† who had been caught stealing mission animals, or who attacked the mission Indians, or induced them to run away, gave them shelter when they had run away of their own accord, or committed various other offenses, if caught, were generally compelled to labor under guard for a considerable time as punishment.

While thus strengthening his defenses, and prudently making provision against the time when there would

^{*} Bancroft, History of California, Vol. I, p. 331-2.

[†] All Indians who had not been brought under mission influence were known as gentiles.

be need of them, we may be sure that Neve was not unmindful of the one object he had so long kept in view. The first efforts of the colonists at San José proved disappointing. Owing largely no doubt to their inexperience and incompetence, their first crop failed. Their irrigation system was principally at fault. It had been badly planned and imperfectly constructed, and it was found necessary to change the site of the intake and build a new dam for its protection. But their irrigation system was not wholly to blame. The colonists were not good farmers, as their later experiences amply demonstrated, and they were besides unfamiliar with the soil and quite incapable of judging what crops it was best suited to produce.

The failure, or partial failure of this first attempt must have admonished the governor, if indeed he had not earlier perceived that his surest hope of securing supplies from home sources was from the missions. He had been particularly charged, as his predecessors had been, to work in harmony with the missionaries; they had been careless of this admonition, and it was evident that mission progress had been greatly hindered thereby. The missionaries were perhaps not quite as good managers as they might have been, but most of them had learned much from their half dozen years' experience. At the older stations particularly, they knew which fields-or plots of ground, for there were no fenced fields as yet—were best suited to certain crops; their irrigation ditches were distributing water more or less satisfactorily, and were being constantly enlarged and improved; the Indians worked better and more

intelligently than at the beginning; their numbers were steadily increasing and there was less trouble in instructing the new converts than there had been with those who came earlier, who had to be shown the use of every implement as well as to be encouraged to acquire habits of industry. Now the new ones learned from the old and progress was more rapid. The area of cultivated land slowly broadened year by year, and the mission flocks and herds multiplied and increased. Though the amount of mission products required to support the converts increased as their numbers increased, there was always, or generally at least, a constantly growing surplus each year, which the padres were anxious to exchange for such necessaries as flour, sugar, salt, coffee, chocolate, articles of clothing for their charges, and implements and tools for their farms and workshops. There was no market in which they could sell their surplus, or buy what they wished to purchase, except that furnished by the government; for the system under which they lived and worked was one of government ownership. Neve as the governor—the government factorum in his jurisdiction-might have furnished them all they wished to buy, and for a time at least, have purchased all they had to sell; and had he done so he might, in time, have realized his ambition to make his government selfsupporting.

What effort he made in this direction does not now appear. He undoubtedly made some, for one cannot suppose that a man of the enterprise and good sense he showed in other matters, wholly neglected such an opportunity as was here offered, especially in view of

the unpromising return his colonists had secured from their first year's experience. No doubt he found the padres somewhat intractable and difficult to deal with. They were not experienced in wordly affairs. They were jealous of his colonizing enterprise. They did not want white settlers in the neighborhood of their missions, for reasons already stated. They wanted more authority over the soldiers given them for guards, and what they wanted in this respect they were quite right in asking. They wanted these soldiers to treat them with respect, so that the Indians might not be encouraged by their example to treat them otherwise. They insisted that they should not set moral regulations at defiance, particularly in respect to practices which they were endeavoring to induce the Indians to give up. They also urged, as Padre Junípero had contended most convincingly, at the time Rivera was pursuing and punishing those suspected of complicity in the attack on the San Diego mission, and the murder of Padre Jayme, that while the soldiers represented the power of the king to punish, they ought to represent his mercy; for in that way they would soonest and surest be able to control their charges as fathers governed their families, which was what the law required.

Because they stood stoutly for these reasonable demands, it was charged that the padres sought a larger influence in the government than belonged to them; that they told the Indians that they were really superior and the governor inferior, and that they wished to put the church above the state in purely temporal affairs. Of this it will be hard to find actual

proof. They knew that the king and his representatives were, or piously claimed to be, deeply interested in their work for the same reason they themselves were; and they knew also that they had an interest in it for a political reason, because they hoped that by means of it the Indians would be changed into peaceable, industrious, tax-paying subjects—in fact that by means of their labors the country would be colonized by its own original inhabitants. They therefore stood rightfully for all that helped to make their work successful, and with equal right opposed all that hindered it. The governor would have done well to sustain their pretensions rather than oppose them.

There is no indication of any want of harmony between the governor and the friars, until he was well into the second half of the second year of his administration. It may be that he had made some effort to get more supplies from them than they were willing to furnish, or that a more satisfactory return from the second year's experience of the San José colonists made him more confident than he had been of coming success, and consequent independence of them; or it may be that an unlooked for request, received from De Croix in the preceding June, encouraged him to take a more radical and bolder step than he otherwise would. At any rate the relations between him and the missionaries were soon as badly strained as they ever had been between them and Fages or Rivera.

The new comandante of the Provincias Internas had found the task of organizing his government a tedious, and very difficult one. It had taken him a long time to visit the principal centers of population in it, and

acquire even a passable knowledge of them and their needs; and he was still far from having that work completed. In March, 1775, the king had ordered that new regulations for the government of the Californias should be prepared, as the old ones had presumably been outgrown, and in August, 1777, the order reached De Croix, who, being occupied with other affairs, forwarded it to Neve, with a request for "a report at length and in detail" on the "faults that impair the usefulness of the old regulations, and what you deem necessary for its reform."

This request reached Neve by the Santiago in June, 1778. It was only a request for suggestions, as will be seen. Had it asked for a draft of a code of laws. or had it even been hinted that his recommendations might be adopted, practically without change as they afterwards were, the new governor might have hesitated to make some of the radical changes he now proposed. Perhaps his mistakes were rather due to the confidence of inexperience, and to that disregard of constitutions, fundamental principles, the laws of nature, and those settled customs of peoples which have all the force of laws, that novices at law-making frequently exhibit. He appears to have held the idea, as many do at the present day, that any regulation, if formally enacted and called a law, must work out satisfactorily, no matter what older and sounder law it may contravene, or what natural or other obstacle may make it impracticable. In his case that theory may have seemed reasonable enough, since all laws in his time emanated from the king, who was supposed to rule by Divine right. However it may have come

about, while part of Neve's regulations were admirable, because well suited to the time and the conditions of the country, and all continued to be the law of the land for many years, some were resisted, because wholly impracticable, and were never enforced. In this respect they did not differ greatly from many so called laws of the present day.

While the governor was compiling his recommendations—which he got ready and forwarded to De Croix in December—his first radical disagreement with the friars began. Under the Echeveste regulations, adopted while Padre Junípero was in Mexico in 1773, the friars assigned to new missions were to be allowed double rations for five years, in order that they might use what they did not themselves require, to encourage the natives in their neighborhood to come under their influence, or to pay them for such service as they might render in erecting their first temporary buildings. These extra rations the governor decided to withhold from the friars assigned to the three newest missions—who at the time were the only ones claiming or receiving them-*the reason given being a scarcity of provisions at the presidio. Against this order the friars protested vigorously. Padres Palou from San Francisco, and Murguía from Santa Clara, wrote him a long letter, in which they set forth with much vigor the need of their missions for this extra supply, and the privation that must ensue in case it was interrupted. The mission fields, they said, had not yielded according to their expectation, while the number of those depend-

^{*} The five-year term during which they had been supplied to the five older missions had now expired.

ing on them for support was constantly increasing. They were obliged to make use of certain Indians who had already been Christianized, as instructors, and these they had to feed as well as themselves. They also declared that their own stipends were in large part used for the benefit of their converts, rather than for themselves. Up to this time neither the soldiers nor the friars in Alta California had been paid in money. All that they received was sent them each year in goods, procured for them by a purchasing officer in New Spain, who received their stipends from the pious fund, bought the goods required and forwarded them, paying the freight charges, which usually amounted to one hundred and fifty percent,* in advance. These goods, aside from such as were especially required by themselves, had been given to the Indians. If the rations were cut off as the governor proposed, their usefulness would be largely restricted, if their work was not brought permanently to a stop. The governor replied urging the necessity of the case, and the friars rejoined that according to the information they had, there was no shortage of provisions, and therefore no necessity for the economy which the governor was proposing to practice at their expense. The governor then shifted his ground, so far as to admit that there were supplies on hand sufficient for the presidios, and that the missions would be so far assisted as to save them from want, though whatever was furnished them would be with the qualification "supplied," which apparently meant that he would expect it to be replaced or paid

^{*} That is to say each annual stipend of \$400 would buy \$160 worth of goods at San Blas prices, on which \$240 would have to be paid as freight.

for. This concession was far from satisfactory, and Padre Junípero came to the support of his associates, contending with the skill and vigor of an able and well informed debater, that the extra rations had been granted at his request and for a well understood purpose; that they were not to be limited to the five earliest missions as the governor claimed; that they were allowed as alms, and there was and could be no expectation that the padres would pay for or replace them, since by their vows they could accumulate nothing and were therefore incompetent to contract to pay at a future time. If the friars had not been assured that the extra rations were to be furnished as alms and not as loans, they would have refused to undertake the mission work, since they would not have bound themselves to do what their vows forbade their doing.

The governor did not yield, and the padre presidente referred the matter to the guardian. By him it was referred to Viceroy Mayorga, who, while he no longer had any authority in the matter, wrote De Croix that the saving to be made by withholding the rations was so small, and the results to be expected from their continuance so great, that he hoped the governor would be directed to supply them. De Croix referred the matter to the king and his council who in time sustained the governor, though their decision was not known in California until the five years, during which the rations would have been furnished, had expired.*

^{*}The correspondence in this controversy, copied from the archives of Mexico and the records now in the mission at Santa Barbara, is given at considerable length in Fray Zephyrin Englehardt's Missions and Missionaries of California, Vol. II, p. 280-291.

How much the work of the missionaries was retarded by this act of Governor Neve it is of course impossible to estimate; how much was saved to the pious fund—for the rations were paid for out of that fund, and not by the general treasury—may easily be computed. The rations were estimated in Echeveste's calculations at three reals, or thirty-seven and a half cents per day, a total of one hundred and thirty-six dollars and eighty-seven and a half cents per year for each missionary. As there were two missionaries at each of the three missions affected by the order, the saving was eight hundred and twenty-one dollars and twenty-five cents per year, or a total of two thousand, four hundred and sixty-three dollars and seventy-five cents for all the three years for which they were denied.

Another and more serious cause of friction between Neve and the friars grew out of his interference with the exercise of a purely religious function, for a purely technical, if not trivial reason, which in the end proved to be no reason at all. It irritated the missionaries, particularly because they regarded the function as a peculiarly sacred and necessary one, with which interference by civil authority was little less than sacrilege.

Soon after the missions began to be fairly prosperous, Padre Junípero began to be concerned about the confirmation of their converts. Power to confirm is usually committed to bishops only, and California at that time was part of a diocese whose see was so distant that it seemed improbable, if not impossible that its bishop would ever visit it.* Padre Junípero, however, remem-

^{*} No bishop ever did visit it until many years later, when it was made a diocese and a bishop appointed for it.

bered to have seen, or heard, of a special edict issued some years earlier by Pope Benedict XIV, under which the authority might be delegated in special cases, where circumstances urgently required it; and he applied to the guardian of his college to procure the delegation of the authority to someone for the Californias. Possibly the matter was considered while he was in Mexico in 1773-4. At any rate, in July, 1774, a special bull was issued by Pope Clement XIV, who then occupied the papal chair, authorizing the comisario prefecto of the college of Querétaro to designate one friar from each of the four colleges in New Spain, to administer the rite for a period of ten years. Under the peculiar relations between the church and state in Spain, this edict required the approval of the king, the Council of the Indies, the audiencia, and also of the viceroy in whose jurisdiction the power should be exercised, before the authority became final. In due course, it was approved, and Padre Junípero himself was appointed for California. The decree, together with the formal papers certifying its approval, and a congratulatory letter from Viceroy Bucareli, were sent to him by the Santiago in June, 1778, at which time four of the ten years, for which the authority had been issued, had expired. With them came a supply of sacred oil, and whatever else was necessary for the exercise of the rite, all sent by the Bishop of Guadalajara.

Soon after receiving this authority, Padre Junípero confirmed a class of ninety-one neophytes at his own mission of San Carlos, and later a number of soldiers and settlers from Monterey. Then, as the Santiago

was about to leave for San Blas on her return voyage, and would call at San Diego on the way, he took passage in her for the southernmost of the missions, where he confirmed all who were prepared for the rite; then, starting northward, he confirmed a class at each of the other missions, as far north as Monterey, where he arrived near the end of the year.

In March following, the governor took occasion to inquire whether the authority, which the padre presidente had received, had been approved by the comandante of the Provincias Internas. The padre replied, as he was compelled to do, that it had not, and, according to his understanding of the case, did not require it, as it had already received all the approvals prescribed by both the canon and civil law. This did not satisfy the governor, who next demanded the papers themselves. The padre presidente had seemingly anticipated this demand, and sent them to the guardian of his college, asking that he consult with the viceroy and procure a full statement of what had been done and all that was required. He, however, showed the governor Viceroy Bucareli's letter which had accompanied the papers and which, after stating the contents, congratulated him on the authority delegated to him, which he hoped would be used for the advancement of the cause. This was not more satisfactory than the previous answers, and the governor now ventured to order the padre presidente to cease administering the rite until he could show that his authority had been properly approved by De Croix.

Here the matter would have rested for a time until, in the slow progress of events, the papers could be

returned by the guardian of San Fernando, and the governor could correspond with the comandante: but the arrival at San Francisco of the exploring expedition sent north that year, under command of Arteaga and Bodega, caused the padre presidente no little embarrassment, as the officers sent him an urgent request to visit the presidio and mission in San Francisco Bay during their stay. He did not wish to disobey the governor's order; at the same time he could not well visit the northern missions without confirming the neophytes who were waiting, or explaining to them why he could not do so. Feeling as he did that the office was a sacred one, he hesitated to acknowledge that the state could forbid its exercise; at any rate, it would be useless to try to explain matters to the converts, and it would be embarrassing to do so to the soldiers or their visitors. He had no hope of prevailing on the governor to withdraw his order, even temporarily, and after much reflection, he determined to ignore it. He applied to the governor for the usual guard to accompany him on his journey, but it was refused, and he was compelled to set forth alone. He reached Santa Clara in October, where he administered the rite, as he also did at San Francisco some days later; but thenceforth he refrained from administering it until the difficulty was adjusted more than a year later.

In the meantime there was a long correspondence with the governor, with the guardian of the college, with Viceroy Mayorga, and with De Croix himself, in which both the canon law and the civil law pertaining to the matter were pretty thoroughly discussed. The

viceroy was confident that the authority had been formally approved in every way, but De Croix took a different view of it. Finally, as the year 1780 was drawing to a close, it was discovered that the papal edict had been issued, and had received the formal approval of king, council, viceroy, and audiencia some little time before the *Provincias Internas* had been created, or De Croix appointed, and therefore that he could claim no authority in the matter whatever. Padre Junípero, accordingly resumed the exercise of the authority in September, 1781, and continued it up to the time of his death, which occurred in 1784, the year that it would have expired.

There were still other causes of irritation between the governor and the missionaries, most of them of a more or less trivial nature. Both were probably more or less at fault. The governor was told by the mission guards that the padres were teaching the Indians that their power was superior to his. The padres had frequent reason to complain of the guards, whose moral laxity made it more difficult for them to correct those habits of life which the Indians had long indulged, but which were wholly incompatible with religious ideas. Quite likely some of these soldiers reported things to the governor that were not true; but it is even more likely that they reported things that were only partly true, and a governor a little more inclined to be jealous of his own authority and dignity, might often be impelled to retaliate. That Neve sometimes did so seems certain. He is reported to have told the soldier guards at one time, that they need not bother themselves with looking after the mission horses, though

they might easily have done so without much inconvenience. As the horses ran at large when not in use, and as no Indians were at this time allowed to ride horses, the padres would thus be caused much annoyance, while the soldiers would be saved little trouble; for on horseback they could easily look after the mission animals while attending their own, or bring in a horse for a padre's use, when he required one, whereas an Indian or a padre on foot might be led a long chase before getting what he required.

Neve also made an order that no missionary should retire from service, or return to his college, without his permission; and to make sure of its enforcement directed the captains of the transports not to receive any friar on board who could not show a permit from him. This order was no doubt authorized by one clause in his instruction, which provided that no person should leave the jurisdiction without his permit, though on the other hand the same instruction provided that captains should be in full control of their ships while in harbor, and the friars were both by the law and the rules of their order, permitted to retire at any time if in ill health, and at the expiration of ten years of service, if they wished. Neve could not and did not prevent their doing so.

Numerous other and similarly trivial causes of disagreement disturbed the harmony of relation between the secular and sacerdotal authorities, which the king and viceroy had been anxious to promote, and which their instructions, so frequently given, had admonished the governor to preserve. No doubt they did much to dispose him to recommend, as he did in the memorial

he was at the time preparing, those radical changes in the mission system, that were opposed both to the civil law, under which it had grown up and by which the missions had been governed for two hundred years, and to the rules of the Order of Saint Francis which the friars were bound by their vows to maintain.

The governor's memorial, designed only for the information of the comandante of the Provincias Internas, though drawn in the form of a new reglamento, or code of laws, for the government of the Californias, was finished late in December, 1778, and forwarded for consideration. The comandante sent it to Madrid, where in time it was approved by king and council, practically as written, and returned to Neve with a commendatory letter from De Croix, giving him full credit as the author of the new code. Probably no man was ever more astonished at the results of his own efforts, than Neve now was to find that what he had only tentatively advised, had been accepted by the highest authority, and given the same effect and dignity as if the king, by virtue of his Divine right and Royal will, had devised it himself.

The code was in three parts or sections; one pertaining to the presidios and soldiers, a subject with which Neve was familiar, being a soldier himself; the second provided for the founding and government of the two pueblos he had recommended as a means of bringing white settlers into the jurisdiction; and the third to the missions, about which he knew so little and had taken little pains to inform himself. The first section appears to have worked out satisfactorily; the second was perhaps as good as could have been arranged at

that time, considering the policy of Spain toward its American colonies, and the character of the colonists who could be induced to come to the country under that system; the third would so far have revolutionized the mission system that it could be enforced only in part; it caused a world of trouble, and failed of accomplishing anything else.

The new regulations minutely defined the duties of officers and soldiers, and fixed the rules for the disposition and support of their families. As the jurisdiction was remote it was not probable that the comandante, or his inspector general, would ever be able to visit it, the governor was to be his deputy, and he might delegate the actual work of inspecting the several posts to an adjutant. The governor himself, however, was to be responsible for the general discipline and management of the military establishment. The officers and soldiers were still to be paid in goods, but at cost prices. Previously one hundred and fifty per cent had been added for the cost of transportation; but this extra cost was now to be remitted, and to compensate for it, a general revision of the salary list was made: the pay of common soldiers was reduced from three hundred and sixty dollars to two hundred and seventeen dollars and fifty cents per year, that of corporals from four hundred dollars to two hundred and twenty-five dollars, and of sergeants from four hundred dollars to two hundred and sixty-two dollars; mechanics from three hundred and thirty dollars to one hundred and eighty dollars; the pay of lieutenants was raised from five hundred to five hundred and fifty dollars; that of an ensign was four hundred dollars,

and of a surgeon four hundred and fifty dollars. A purchasing and disbursing agent, known as an habilitado, was provided for each presidio. He was to have charge of receiving and distributing the goods in which the soldiers were paid, their rations, and the keeping of the company accounts. The soldiers were to pay two per cent of their salaries to this officer to compensate him for the extra work done, and they also were to be responsible for any deficit in his accounts. Supplies for the presidios were to be purchased in Mexico, as formerly, though it was expected that it would soon be possible to purchase a considerable amount of grain, vegetables and meat from the missions or the pueblo farms, and when this became possible, the habilitado was to be the purchasing officer.

The second division pertained to the pueblos, of which there were to be two-one already provisionally established at San José, the other was to be located on the Porciúncula. These were to promote the settlement of the country and encourage agriculture, stock raising, and other branches of industry, in order that they might provide supplies for the presidios, make the governmental department self-supporting, and relieve the royal treasury. Settlers were to be enlisted in New Spain, particularly in the northern provinces, although soldiers might become settlers at the expiration of the time of their enlistment. Married men, preferably, were to be sought, who could bring their wives and children with them, although single men were to be accepted. The soldiers were also to be encouraged to induce their unmarried female relatives to come to the country, in order that they might become

wives of unmarried soldiers or settlers. Those charged with the duty of recruiting soldiers for the presidios, or settlers for the pueblos, were particularly admonished to notify all persons applying for enlistment, of the exact conditions on which they were to be received; what was to be furnished them, and how they were to pay for it. Each settler was to receive a town lot on which he was to have his home; he was also to have four fields two hundred varas square, to be assigned to him within the four square leagues, near the center of which each pueblo was to be located. He was to be furnished two mares, two horses, two sheep, two goats, one mule, a yoke of oxen and the necessary agricultural implements* and seeds, together with a musket and leathern shield. He could not sell nor mortgage his land, nor sell nor kill any of his animals, except under certain regulations, and lest any settler might become too rich, it was provided that none should own more than fifty animals of one kind at one time. Animals for breeding purposes, a forge, certain carpenter's tools, and a blacksmith and carpenter were to be furnished each pueblo for the general benefit. In addition to the fields furnished for cultivation, the settler was to have the privilege of pasturing his animals on the public lands, and of getting wood and water as his necessities might require. He was also to be paid one hundred and sixteen dollars and forty-three cents each year for two years, and sixty dollars per year for the succeeding years. He was to assist in building irrigation ditches, and the necessary dams,

^{*} These implements were: one plowshare or point, one hoe, one wooden spade with steel point, one ax, one sickle and one woodknife.

roads and bridges, a church and other necessary town structures, and in tilling so much public land as it might be found possible, or desirable to cultivate for the purpose of supplying the presidios. He was to be exempt from taxes and tithes for a period of five years, after which he was to begin to reimburse the government for all that he had received in the way of animals, implements, tools, seeds, and cash. This was to be repaid at his convenience, and no part of it was to be withheld from funds provided him.

Each pueblo was to be governed by an alcalde, with authority similar to that of a justice of the peace, and two regidores, who were at first to be appointed by the governor; later they were to be chosen by popular vote; a sufficient military guard was also to be maintained.

In return for this, he was to sell to the presidio exclusively all surplus grain, and whatever else he might have to sell, at prices to be fixed by the government, in accordance with market rates in the southern provinces. He was to keep himself, his horse, musket, and general equipment in readiness for military service in case he should be called upon to render it. Each colonist must have his house finished and furnished within three years. He was not to kill or sell any of his animals except old ones, until he should have fifteen mares and a stallion, fifteen cows and a bull, twelve sheep and a ram, ten goats and a buck, and six hens and a cock; after that all surplus must be sold to the government for the support of the troops.

In regard to the missions, the new regulations provided that after the old line, from San Diego to San

Francisco, should be completed by the establishment of the three new missions already recommended for the Santa Barbara Channel, a second line, from fifteen to twenty leagues inland, should be begun. Each establishment in this line should, as nearly as possible, be equidistant from two of the older missions. The one thousand dollars to be furnished from the pious fund for each of these, was to be used to build a church and a residence for the missionary in charge; but no part of it was to provide animals or implements, for these were no longer to be needed. The new missions were to have no farms and no workshops; they were not to assemble Indians for instruction of any kind, except in a religious way. Only one missionary was to be provided for each, since he would have no responsibility except that of a religious teacher; he would be, in fact, the curate of a parish and nothing more. He was to have no extra rations, nor supplies of any kind with which to induce the savages in his neighborhood to come to him for instruction; he was only to receive them if they came, instruct them so far as he could, and then allow them to return to their rancherias, and come back to him when they chose. He was, indeed, to have no control of them whatever, except so far as he might be able to induce them to do as he wished by his teaching.

For the present, the two missionaries already established at each of the older missions, were to remain there until one of them should be inclined to help in establishing a new one; if one of them died, or returned to his college, his place was not to be filled. The old

missions were to provide stock, and such supplies as they might be able to part with for the new missions on the channel.

The new regulations were returned to Neve by De Croix, with notice that a copy had been forwarded to the king for his approval, awaiting which they were to go into effect provisionally in the beginning of 1781. Meantime Rivera was sent from Loreto to recruit soldiers for the new presidio and missions on the Santa Barbara Channel, and settlers for the two pueblos, in Sonora and Sinaloa. He arrived at Arizpe, which the comandante had now made his capital, in December, 1779, where he was given special instructions as to the work he was to do. Most of the subaltern officers required had already been chosen, and twenty-five soldiers from the presidios in Sonora had been assigned to him. He was to recruit twenty-five volunteers to replace these, and thirty-four others, besides twentyfour settlers, including a mason, a blacksmith and a carpenter, to accompany him to California. Settlers as well as soldiers must bind themselves to serve for ten years, and married men, who must take their families with them, were to be preferred. Ninety-six horses and mules were to be purchased for the expedition. Rivera was authorized to seek his recruits outside the Provincias Internas, if necessary, and should any be enlisted as far south as Guadalajara, they might be sent forward by sea; the others might be forwarded by sea or land as should seem advisable; the animals must go by land, by Anza's route via the Colorado and the Gila.

The king and his council approved the new regulations in due course, and those pertaining to the presidios and pueblos were duly proclaimed in March, 1781; the padres apparently did not learn how they were to be affected by them until more than a year later.

In July, Lieutenant Gonzales, with Ensigns Cayetano Limon and José Darío Argüello* and thirty-five soldiers, thirty of whom had families, arrived at San Gabriel, having come by way of the Colorado and Gila. There were no settlers with this party, but later seventeen soldiers and eleven settlers, with their families, came by way of Loreto and the peninsula, under command of Lieutenant Zúñiga, arriving in August. These were to be the founders of the pueblo of La Reina de los Angeles, and the governor almost immediately prepared and issued elaborate instructions for laying out and founding the future city. These provided for a distribution of fields and residence lots by a plan similar to that of San José, and gave directions for their immediate survey.

The site for a dam and ditch, with the view of irrigating the largest possible area of land, was first to be chosen; then a site for the pueblo was to be fixed, on high ground within view of the sowing lands, but at least two hundred varas distant, near the river or the main ditch, and "with sufficient exposure to the north and south winds." In it a plaza two hundred by three hundred feet was first to be laid out, with its corners

^{*} Don José Darío Argüello, was the founder of the Argüello family, afterwards famous in California. He was the father of Governor Luis Antonio Árgüello, and of Doña Concepcion Argüello, whose engagement to the Russian Rezánof, afterwards broken off by his accidental death, has been much celebrated in song and story; and was himself governor ad interim from July, 1814 to August, 1815; he was afterwards governor of the peninsula.

facing the cardinal points, and with streets perpendicular to each of its four sides, so that "no street would be swept by the wind." The house lots were to be fifty-five by one hundred and ten feet, and their number was to be equal to that of the available sowing lots and irrigable grounds. The eastern side of the plaza was reserved for public buildings. After the survey, and the reservation of lands for common use, the settlers were to draw lots for the tracts of farm land, beginning with those nearest to the pueblo. The lands reserved as commons were to be divided into additional house lots for new settlers, as they should be required. A public pasture ground and a tract to be planted or rented, the revenue from which was to be set apart for public expenses, were also to be surveyed. Each settler was to be assigned two planting lots two hundred varas square, that could be irrigated, and two that lay too high for that purpose. Grants of sowing lands from that reserved for public purposes were to be made from time to time, to new settlers as they arrived.

The pueblo was founded on September 4th, with twelve settlers and their families, forty-six persons in all.* Temporary huts were built, as at San José, and the families took immediate possession and began work

^{*}These families were: José de Lara, Spaniard, fifty years of age, wife Indian, three children; José Antonio Navarro, mestizo, forty-two years, wife mulattress, three children; Basilio Rosas, Indian, sixty-eight years, wife mulattress, six children; Antonio Mesa, negro, thirty-eight years, wife mulattress, two children; Antonio (Felix) Villavicencio, Spaniard, thirty years, wife Indian, one child; José Vanegas, Indian, twenty-eight years, wife Indian, one child; Alejandro Rosas, Indian, nineteen years, wife coyote (half breed); Pablo Rodriguez, Indian, twenty-five years, wife Indian, one child; Manuel Camero, mulatto, thirty years, wife mulattress; Luis Quintero, negro, fifty-five years, wife mulattress, five children; José Moreno, mulatto, twenty-two years, wife mulattress; Antonio Miranda, chino, fifty years, one child. The last named was not a Chinaman, but was a person of mixed blood—probably Spanish, Indian and negro.

on their irrigation ditch, and such other improvements as were necessary for planting a crop; but full title to their fields and lots was not to be given them until five years later. The reglamento did not specify the time when evidence of title should be given, but it seems to have been thought prudent to wait until the settlers should give some evidence of being able to support themselves, after the government should cease to pay them and furnish them with rations. The San José colonists were treated in the same way. It was not until May, 1783, that Lieutenant Moraga, under instructions from Governor Fages, who by that time had succeeded Neve, completed a survey of the town and the neighboring fields; and gave each head of a family his deed, so that he might dispose of his holding by will, or if he died intestate, it would descend to his lawful heirs.*

At Los Angeles the survey was made by Ensign Argüello in August, 1786, who assigned to each settler his lot and lands, and also a branding iron for marking his animals. This brand was recorded as was his deed, or whatever evidence of title to land was given him.

The thirty-five soldiers who had arrived at San Gabriel from Sonora in July, 1781, and those who later came by way of the peninsula, remained there until March of the following year, when the time for founding the long delayed mission of San Buenaventura—one of the three which Gálvez had twelve years earlier

^{*}These first titles at San José were granted to Manuel Francisco Amézquita, Claudio Alvires, Sebastian Alvitre, José Manuel Gonzales, Bernardo Rosales, Francisco Avila, José Tiburcio Vasquez, Antonio Romero, and José Ignacio Archuleta.

designated as the first to be established—appears to have arrived. Padre Junípero had several years earlier designated missionaries for it and held them in waiting, but so many other missions had been started meantime, that it was now difficult to find two who could be spared even temporarily, for the long cherished object. had only two supernumeraries, and one of these must be left at San Carlos in his place when he was required to be absent, which was now a good part of the time, as his authority to administer confirmation was no longer disputed. He was, however, expecting six new helpers by the transports which would arrive in midsummer. These he had asked for on account of this and the two other missions which he and the governor had so harmoniously united in recommending four years earlier. He evidently did not yet know what the new law provided in regard to the assignment of his subordinates, and his heart beat high with expectation; for Neve had sent him notice that a mission at Santa Barbara, as well as San Buenaventura, would be established, if friars could be furnished.

In his anxiety that nothing on his part should be lacking, in order to procure what he had so long and so ardently desired, he called Padre Cambón from San Diego to take charge at one of the new establishments, while he himself, in spite of his sixty-nine years, would remain alone at the other until the six friars who were expected should come. This determination, as well or better than anything else in his history, shows the willingness of the man to sacrifice himself, if need be, to promote the work he had undertaken; for the fate that had overtaken the missions on the Colorado in

the country of Palma and his Yumas, was already known in California, and it was natural that the Indians on the coast, particularly where they were most numerous, as on the Santa Barbara Channel, should be excited by it, and perhaps tempted to a similar exploit.

If any thought of increased danger occurred to him, it did not deter him from the undertaking. Early in March he started south, administered confirmation at San Antonio and San Luis on the way, and arrived at the new pueblo of Los Angeles on the 18th. At San Gabriel he met Padre Cambón, who was quite as willing to serve alone temporarily at one of the new missions as himself, and together they made ready.

Neve had already issued his instructions to Ortega, who was to found and have charge of the new presidio, which was to be established simultaneously with the missions. These, if the padres were aware of their contents, might have given them some hint of what was in store for them. They charged vigilance and the utmost precaution as a thing of the utmost importance. The new presidio was to be built first of all buildings at Santa Barbara; nothing but temporary shelters for the soldiers and supplies should be attempted until the presidio square should be enclosed with palisades and earthworks. Indians were not to be allowed within this enclosure except in small numbers and unarmed. They were to be treated kindly, and every effort made to win their good will and confidence. To this end, the soldiers must be restrained from oppressing them, from meddling with their affairs, and particularly from all immoral practices. They were not to visit their rancherias under penalty of fifteen consecutive days of guard duty wearing four cueras, unless sent to assist a friar, or on other necessary duty. The Indians were to be interfered with in their natural mode of life as little as possible. They were to be civilized by example as well as precept; any outrage they might commit should be punished by imprisonment or by flogging, but explanation must be carefully made to the chiefs, so that they might comprehend, and make their people understand why punishment was inflicted. The soldiers were to own no cattle, so that the Indians might not be tempted to kill or steal them. Trade with the natives was to be encouraged by fair treatment and fair prices.

These instructions, particularly those providing that the soldiers should keep no cattle, and that the Indians were to be interfered with as little as possible in their mode of life, indicated what Neve was proposing to do to change the character of the missions; they did not disclose all, nor did the padres learn all at this time, or until considerably later, when they received the information through their college.

On March 26th, Lieutenant Ortega with about seventy soldiers, most of whom were accompanied by their families,* Padres Junípero and Cambón, and the governor, left San Gabriel for the channel. At the end of the first day's march a courier overtook them with a message for Neve requiring his return. Next day the journey was resumed and on the third, the site which Portolá had noted as a favorable one for a mission, on

^{*} There were in the party ten men who had come from Monterey as a guard for the governor, and who of course were not accompanied by their families.

his first view of it in 1769, and which had then or later been designated as the site of San Buenaventura, was reached. The usual ceremonies for founding a mission were performed March 31st and Padre Cambón was placed in charge.

Two weeks later the governor rejoined the party, and all except a sergeant and fourteen men left with Padre Cambón as a guard, took up the march for Santa Barbara, where a site for the presidio was chosen on the shore of a small bay, at a place called San Joaquin de la Laguna by Portolá in 1769. There were springs of good water in the neighborhood, and near them a large Indian ranchería, whose inhabitants were disposed to be friendly. Here the presidio was founded April 21st, Padre Junípero celebrating a low mass, for lack of an assistant, delivering a sermon and singing the alabado instead of the Te Deum. Work on the palisaded enclosure for the presidio was begun, and with the help of the Indians carried forward quite rapidly. Oak trees were felled and an enclosure sixty varas, or about 165 feet square, was soon so far finished as to afford reasonable protection for the storehouse and the huts for the soldiers and their families. Then an irrigation ditch was begun and preparation made for gardens, and even for farming on a small scale.

So far nothing was done or said about founding a mission at the place, and Padre Junípero awaited the announcement expectantly. It came at last, but it was not what he had hoped; the governor informed him that work on it would not begin until the presidio and

all about it was finished. As this would evidently require some time, the padre presidente resolved to return to Monterey.

When the transports, which this year were both new ones,* arrived, they brought no friars; but they brought letters from which the padres learned something, though not all of what the new reglamento contained that interested them. One from the guardian of San Fernando, informed the padre presidente that two members of his college had been made bishops, while a new diocese, composed of Sonora and California, had been created, the bishop for which had been chosen from the sister college of Querétaro. It also explained why the six expected friars had not come. More than a year and a half earlier, and before the new regulations had been proclaimed in California, De Croix had applied through Viceroy Mayorga for these friars, and the guardian, having got some hint of the changes proposed by the new law, made use of the opportunity thus offered to get more complete information. In replying to the viceroy's letter, he set forth that two of the three missions to be established† would require all the church furniture, vestments, bells, etc., together with all the farm implements and seeds, as well as trinkets to be used to attract the Indians, and the extra rations that might be used to support the earlier converts until the mission farms should provide for them: "for what purpose would it serve," said he "to catechize and

^{*}The Nuestra Señora de los Remedios or La Favorita, and La Princess. The San Carlos had by this time been sent to the Philippines whence she never returned. A new San Carlos was subsequently built for the California service.

[†] Those for San Buenaventura had been provided thirteen years earlier, and had been waiting all this time for that mission to be founded.

baptize the heathen Indians, if afterwards it be not obligatory upon them to live and die as Christians? The aid for the house and field is indispensable * * * because, if they do not sow grain, useful and necessary for human sustenance, the missions will have little or no basis. For this same end likewise all the implements and tools are needed," as previously furnished, "and at least one blacksmith's forge to repair and renovate the tools that need it. Besides there is wanted for these missions a sufficient number of cattle and all kinds of animals, even chickens, in order that in time the missions may develop into pueblos proper."

The whole question of the future character of the missions was thus raised, and the intimation was clear, though it was not expressly declared, that no friars would be sent unless the old system was to be continued.

Mayorga did not reply to this letter for nearly four months, and until he had probably corresponded with De Croix; then his answer was evasive though conciliatory, but not satisfactory. He urged that the friars be sent forward at once, in order that they might ascertain whether all the things asked for were really needed.

But the friars were not to be cajoled. They already knew what was needed, or believed they did, and the guardian plainly said so. "These aids assist us not a little" he wrote, "and even to a great extent, toward the advancement, reduction and perseverance of those heathen Indians, who are attracted more by what they receive from the missionaries, than by what is preached to them."

This was an admission which the padres never hesitated to make when occasion required. It was a fact which all missionaries among the Indians, and probably among other heathen as well, have found to be true, much to their disappointment. After nine years spent among the Indians of Eastern Washington Mrs. Eells wrote in sorrow to her mother, that she had not yet heard the rejoicings of one redeemed soul, or the cry of one under conviction; and Senator Nesmith of Oregon has described how he heard an old chief say to a missionary ingenuously, after listening to his sermon: "Yes, my friend, if you will give us lots of blankets, pantaloons, flour, meat, and tobacco, we will pray to God all the time and always." Ignorant savages have a long way to go before they begin to comprehend what missionaries wish to have them understand.

Missionaries in all times seem to have hoped to bring about a sudden change in the nature and character of savages, which they call conversion, and which is the sole object of all their labors and sacrifices. To these Franciscan friars the acceptance of baptism was the evidence that this change had begun—or was complete in case the subject was near death. When an Indian had accepted baptism they rejoiced in the belief that a benighted soul had been fitted for heaven; the object of all subsequent instruction was to keep it in the way until death, in order that it might have supreme happiness in a future existence. The fact was overlooked, to a large extent at least, that the Indians had but a dim comprehension of the possibility of a future state, and could not have it until their intellectual condition

was much improved by education. They were far too much concerned about their present condition, which was actual, with needs pressing and continuous, to be easily interested in a future state about which they were now hearing for the first time, and of which their sluggish minds were able to conceive little. To be regularly fed and comfortably clothed meant much to them; it was something actual and they could appreciate it. To be shown how these regular supplies of desirable things could be secured by their own labors, even if it was necessary, as it doubtless was, to compel them to receive the instruction, was more to them, and the padres did well to insist upon the means for carrying on this important part of their work.

When the padres learned, as they did through the guardian's correspondence with the viceroy, that the usual means for beginning and carrying on their work were not to be provided, the six who had been assigned to California, refused to leave their college, and that was why Padre Junípero's expectation of their coming was disappointed.

While the guardian of San Fernando was corresponding with the viceroy and protesting against Neve's plan for new missions, events were transpiring in Sonora and on the Colorado, that were to do more than protests could, to save the padres from making trial of it.

The Yumas that Anza had found so helpful when he passed through their territory in 1774 and again in 1775-6, had long been promised missions and a presidio similar to those in New Spain and California. Padre Kino had told them in 1697 of the advantages they would gain from these institutions, and from having

the powerful Spaniards among them as friends and neighbors; and though those who listened to his glowing descriptions had grown old and died before Garcés first visited them in 1771, they had told the story to their children who still remembered it. The intrepid Garcés, with his cross and banner, preaching and making peace wherever he went, had revived their expectations and strengthened their hope that they would soon be fulfilled. So eager were they in 1774 that Palma, their most powerful chief, went across the terrible desert between the Gila Mountains and Sonoita to Altar, to urge that the missions might be established quickly. Anza found him there, when seeking animals to replace those the Apaches had killed, when he was about to set out on his first expedition. How the chief and his tribesmen welcomed the great explorer to their rancherias a few weeks later, and the soldiers and settlers in the following year has already been related. What Palma and his people may have learned, or thought they learned, from the soldiers and settlers, during the few days they remained near the mouth of the Gila, it is impossible to know. We may be sure that both soldiers and settlers were willing enough to impress them with the superior advantages of their own condition, and to awaken in their minds extravagant hopes of what they might expect to gain from civilization, or contact with civilized people. The Indians certainly saw that all their visitors were regularly fed, that they had clothing, and particularly that they had weapons that were far more effective than their own, both for making war and procuring game. Gifts were made them, of trifling

value to be sure, but more were promised, and they easily persuaded themselves that all they saw and hoped for would be given them in time, when the promised mission and presidio should be established.

Indians, like children, easily become impatient to have the promises made them performed. These Yumas, like other Indians in distant parts, did not understand that those who told them about the advantages of civilization and religion, and the good things of civilized life, did not promise them for themselves did not perhaps promise them at all—but told them that God, or a king, or government could give them, or bring them to them, and might do so under certain circumstances. This king, or government, was to them a mysterious thing, in some distant place they knew, but they could not understand why it should not do at once what it was to do, if it was to do it all. So when the missions and presidio, and the storehouses filled with food and goods and arms and gewgaws, were not provided, they began to distrust and then to doubt that they would ever be furnished.

Garcés and Eisarch were sent to them with the second Anza party to begin their religious instruction; and when Anza returned, Palma solicited permission to accompany him to Mexico to have an interview with the viceroy. Unable to dissuade him from this purpose, Anza at length consented to take him, his brother, and two other Indians to the capital. They were well received there, and remained for some time, during which they were liberally entertained and Palma accepted baptism, which was regarded as most satisfactory evidence of the intelligence and genuineness of his demand.

Before their departure they were promised that a presidio and two missions would be established in their country, and that padres and other Spaniards would be sent to live among them. This they supposed to mean no doubt, that lots of goods would be sent at the same time for presents or for trading purposes. But conditions were most unfavorable for their designs. The Provincias Internas, of which their country was to be a part, were just about to be set off from the viceroyalty; a new government must be organized before anything else was done, and as the provinces extended across a wide range of territory, this would require time. Anza had reported that the proposed missions would need the protection of a strong presidio, with a garrison of sixty men, but the new comandante was not so well supplied with soldiers that so large a force could easily be spared. He had urgent demands for large forces in other parts of his jurisdiction where Indians were more warlike. Before he had visited all parts of the wide region which he was required to defend and govern, he fell sick and was for a long time confined to his capital, which was then at Chihuahua, which caused further delay.

The high hopes with which Palma and his fellow travelers had returned to the Gila, gradually faded, as year after year went by and nothing was done for them. Between 1776 and 1779, Palma made several trips to Altar, the nearest presidio, to inquire the cause of the delay. The officer in charge was not able to answer satisfactorily, knowing little about what had been promised, and less about the reasons why the promises had not been fulfilled. Worse even than that,

he did not always find the same officer in command, and the explanations offered, so far as any were offered, did not in all respects agree. Disappointment gradually changed to doubt, and doubt to distrust in the Indian mind. Palma's tribesmen, though enduring disappointment with some patience for a time, began to blame him as a possible cause of it—or at least with arousing hopes and expectations that were not to be realized; they taunted him with credulity and incompetence, and laughed at his lack of penetration.

Meantime, the friars at the border missions in Sonora, as well as the guardian of their college of Querétaro, were doing all they could to have the promised missions established. Padre Garcés was particularly active, being anxious that the good work he had done to prepare the way, should not be wholly lost. But nothing could be done until the governor should give authority, and provide the usual guard and other necessaries. After much correspondence, Garcés and Padre Juan Diaz in August, 1779, were with much difficulty, provided with a guard of twelve men, and sent forward across the desert, to establish a temporary mission, and pacify the Indians as far as possible, until something better could be done. Beyond Sonoita, all turned back because of scarcity of water, except Garcés and two soldiers, who made a dash over the Camino del Diabolo, traveling light, and reached the Colorado safely. Diaz with the other ten joined them in October.

They found Palma and his people in a very different temper than they had been three years earlier, when their faith in the promises made them had not been shaken. Some of the nearby tribes had forgotten the treaties they had made with the Yumas and other neighbors, under Anza's influence, and were threatening war. The friars and their escort found themselves in a very equivocal position. Palma's authority was no longer unquestioned by his people, and although still disposed to be friendly, it was evident that he could not guarantee protection, as he once could. Both friars and soldiers soon saw that what they had brought was not what the Indians expected; some of them scoffed at what was offered, some were indifferent, and some openly hostile.

The friars realizing that their position was far from secure, dispatched a few soldiers for help; but instead of fetching it they were themselves detained, on pretense of urgent need for their services, which was probably true. Every effort was made by the friars to bring about a better feeling among the Indians, but without much effect. In November Diaz went to Arizpe, where the comandante then was, to personally consult with, and inform him of the gravity of the situation. By that time De Croix was fully informed as to Neve's plan, as he had received his memorial and approved it months earlier, and strangely enough, now resolved to put it to the test in this dangerous neighborhood. Disregarding Anza's warning that the place would require a strong presidio, and the information brought by Diaz that the Indians who were eager to be friendly when this warning had been given, were now irritated and threatening to become actively hostile, he gave the order, in March, 1780, to establish two missions on the Colorado, without any presidio to

protect them. In place of it each mission was to have a guard of ten soldiers instead of five, the usual number where the Indians were well disposed, and ten settlers and six laborers were also to be located near it. The soldiers, settlers and perhaps the laborers also, were to be accompanied by their families, and they were to be supplied with stock, farm implements, and seeds for planting, as the settlers were in Neve's pueblos.

Thus an experiment was to be tried in a very dangerous neighborhood. The new plan called for neither a presidio, a pueblo, nor a mission. Instead of a strong presidio, with a guard of sixty soldiers, a fort or palisaded enclosure of some sort which could be defended in case of extremity—there was to be no fort and only twenty soldiers, divided between two missions, where if attacked they must fight without other defense than that they could provide at the moment. The friars were not to gather the Indians about them for instruction in such useful arts as would enable them to live better, and provide themselves regularly with the food and clothing they so much desired; they were not to have any supplies of food, clothing or trinkets such as Indians admire, to tempt them to receive their instruction, accept their control, and regulate their lives after the manner of civilized people. The residents of the pueblos were to have their homes and farms separate and apart from the Indians, where they might pursue their occupations undisturbed and where their savage neighbors might not be rather tempted to acquire their vices than their virtues. Soldiers, settlers, and laborers, with their families and four priests, without unity of purpose or the means of

securing unity of action in case of need, were sent across an inhospitable desert, to a distant country, to make their homes, and such progress as they might, among restless savages, who had long believed they had been promised, and had been eagerly waiting for something entirely different than was now tendered them.

Even if Palma's people had not felt that they were being deceived and imposed upon, there probably was not a worse place in all New Spain or California to try an entirely untried experiment, such as this was, than their country. The Yumas were in some respects more advanced than most of the other Indian tribes. They had more settled habits, and indeed seemed to have preserved something of an older and better civilization. They regularly cultivated small patches of ground, raising considerable crops of wheat, corn and various varieties of vegetables, particularly melons. They had supplied Anza's settlers with so many of the latter that they could not possibly eat them all. Their fields and gardens were all unfenced, and in their season invited incursions from the settlers' cattle. This was an early cause of trouble and others followed.

The colonists with their families arrived in the Yuma country late in 1780. Two missions were founded on the California side of the Colorado, one, called La Purisima Concepción, near the site of Fort Yuma, and the other, San Pedro y San Pablo de Bicuñer, some eight or ten miles further down the river. Lands in the neighborhood of each were apportioned among the settlers, and so little attention was paid to the rights or the wishes of the Indians in making the appor-

tionment, that much dissatisfaction resulted. Their complaints were but little heeded. The settlers appropriated driftwood and whatever else they found that was useful in building their habitations, or desirable for any purpose, and this the Indians particularly resented; for in winter this wood was both fuel and clothing to them, and winter was drawing near. Things grew steadily worse from the beginning. The friars labored assiduously to avert the storm they knew to be approaching. Some of the Indians seemed to be interested in their teaching; a few even accepted baptism. Through these, as well as by attending the sick and helping to bury the dead, they endeavored constantly to bring about a better feeling, but to little purpose. The soldiers, not being under their control or even subject to their influence, did many things to make matters worse. They punished the Indians, both by flogging and by imprisonment, sometimes for very trivial offenses, while rarely giving much attention to their complaints of the ravages which the settlers' cattle committed in their fields, or of injuries inflicted on their persons.

By June, 1781, the supply of provisions which the colonists had brought from Sonora began to run low, and nothing had yet been grown on which they could subsist. The Indians had little more than they needed for themselves, and were not willing to sell even at high prices. Some soldiers were sent to San Gabriel, who brought back food enough to relieve the wants of the colony temporarily, but less than had been hoped for. The outlook for the future was not encouraging.

A few weeks after this relief party returned, Captain Rivera arrived with the settlers and soldiers he had been recruiting in Sonora and Sinaloa for the new California pueblos, and a considerable herd of horses, mules and cattle. There were about forty families in the party, and they were escorted by a considerable number of soldiers. Some of these had been sent as an escort, and after sending Ensign Limon with nine men to accompany the settlers with their families and part of their cattle to San Gabriel, most of the remainder were sent back to their presidios in Sonora. Then with the twelve remaining, and five or six who had been sent from California to meet him, Rivera made camp on the east side of the river opposite the northern mission, intending to remain for some weeks, as it has been reported, to recruit his animals.

It is difficult to account for Rivera's conduct here. His animals can scarcely have been in worse condition than those Limon and the settlers took with them. He must have been warned by the friars, who certainly realized the danger of their situation if the settlers and soldiers did not; or if he was not, he must easily have discerned that the Indians were in no very friendly humor. He must have been aware also that one principal cause of their disaffection was the depredations committed by the cattle of the colonists on their fields and gardens, while another was that they had not been given presents as they had expected. To pasture his own animals in their neighborhood would increase their cause of complaint on the one hand, and he did little to lessen the other by giving with a more liberal hand. It might be guessed that he remained to give

additional protection to the colonists, only in that event he would hardly have sent the Sonora soldiers back to their presidios, at least until certain there would be no need for them; if that had been his purpose it also seems certain he would have taken post on the opposite bank of the river, where the missions and the colonists were, and where he could have best served them in case of attack.

Judged by all the evidence exisiting, his conduct can only be attributed to a foolhardy contempt for the Yumas and their hostile attitude, and to his own well known habit of procrastination.

The storm broke on July 17th. Both missions were attacked while the friars were saying mass. All the male members of the colony, including the four friars, were clubbed to death; the women and children were spared, but reduced to slavery. The mission buildings and the homes of the colonists were sacked and burned. Situated as his camp was on the opposite side of the river, Rivera and his handful of soldiers were unable to make even a show of going to the defense of their countrymen; before they could have crossed the broad river, the slaughter would have been complete. They, therefore, hurriedly constructed such rude defenses for themselves as they could, and made ready for the attack which they knew would be made as soon as the savages could complete the slaughter at the missions and cross the river. This they did not do until the following day, when a sharp battle ended in the death of many Indians, and all the soldiers, including Rivera himself.

Padre Garcés appears to have been spared for a time. Many of the Indians evidently desired to exempt him from the general massacre. The quiet nobility of his character, the courage he had so often shown in going from one warring tribe to another in spite of their warnings, the earnest enterprise with which he had pressed them to accept the message of peace and good will which he brought them, had appealed to their savage admiration, while his tireless ministrations to the sick, feeble, and helpless, had endeared him to many. The efforts of those who would have saved him, however, were unavailing; he was mercilessly clubbed to death as the others had been. So perished one of the noblest figures in the pioneer history of the Pacific Coast.

News of the massacre was carried by some of the Gila Indians to Tucson, and by one of the colonists who escaped the slaughter, to Altar; it reached De Croix at Arizpe in August. Meanwhile, Ensign Limon, after escorting his settlers to San Gabriel, returned with his nine soldiers toward the Colorado. As he neared the river he heard reports from the Indians he occasionally met, of the massacre, but doubting their truth, pressed on until the smouldering ruins of the Mission Conception were reached. Here he was attacked by a small party of hostiles, one of whom wore Rivera's uniform, and after a sharp skirmish, repulsed them. He returned to San Gabriel bringing with him to Neve the first news of what had happened.

Early in September De Croix held a council of war at Arizpe, at which it was highly resolved that the Yumas, having asked for missions and now having murdered their missionaries, must be proceeded against and punished as apostates and rebels; that a strong force should be sent to the Colorado to ransom the captives; that the ringleaders in the late uprising should be put to death, and if they were not surrendered, war, in which other Indian tribes might be employed against the hostiles should be begun, and no peace except upon terms of their absolute submission.

As often happens, however, this high-sounding protocol was not followed by the copious activity it promised. Comandante Fages, now a lieutenant colonel, and Captain Fueros, with a hundred soldiers and some friendly Indians, were dispatched to the scene of the massacre, where they ransomed the captive women and children, and buried the bodies of their husbands and fathers, which were found lying where they had fallen. None of the murderers were punished then or later. Most of the Yuma warriors had retreated to a strong position some eight or ten leagues down the river, where the two commanders thought it undesirable to attack them. With the ransomed captives they started homewards, but on the way encountered a courier with an order directing them to bring with them the bodies of the four murdered friars. These they had not found when burying the other victims, but on subsequent search it was discovered that some of their converts had piously buried them. Their remains were disentombed and carried to the mission at Tubutama, where they were all buried in one coffin.*

^{*}The four martyrs were Padres Francisco Garcés, Juan Antonio Barrenachi, Juan Diaz, and Matías Moreno.

While Fages was absent, another council was held at Arizpe, at which it was again resolved to make war on the Yumas until they were thoroughly subdued, and their leaders put to death; then a site should be chosen on the Colorado for a strong presidio, which was to be maintained there for the protection of future settlements. After Fages with his ransomed captives reached Arizpe, still another council was held, at which he was directed to assume charge of the campaign, and march with forty men to San Gabriel, where he would report to Neve. Meantime Fueros would prepare a sufficient force with which he was to reach the Colorado not later than April 1st, where Neve, who was to direct everything, would join him with the Fages contingent, and such reinforcements as he might be able to bring from California.

It was in pursuance to this arrangement that Fages reached San Gabriel in time to be present at the founding of Mission San Buenaventura, and it was some message in regard to this proposed campaign that recalled Neve to San Gabriel while on the way to attend the same ceremony. It was undoubtedly because of the information he had now gained in regard to the result of the Colorado experiment, that he decided to delay the founding of the other two missions on the channel, and ordered that the soldiers for the new presidio at Santa Barbara should keep no cattle; for it was clear now that Indians would not tamely see cattle fattening for the profit of others, on lands they claimed as their own, while none were provided for themselves.

Neve regarded April 1st as too early to begin the Yuma campaign, and postponed the date to September, when the river would be fordable and the crops of the Indians nearly ready for the harvest; then by laying their fields waste they would easily be brought to terms. But as usually happens with campaigns long postponed, this one resulted in little. There was some fighting in which a few Indians were killed, but none of the murderers were captured, peace was not made and neither presidio, mission nor pueblo, was ever established in their country.

By this stupid experiment about fifty lives were needlessly sacrificed, and the road from Sonora to California, which Anza had opened, was practically closed, and remained so for more than forty years. The sacrifices Garcés had made during his explorations were wasted. Had no experiment been tried; had a presidio such as Anza recommended, and as Bucareli was making preparation for when the Provincias Internas were taken from his jurisdiction, been established; had regular missions such as Kino and Garcés had in mind been planted there; and white settlers and their cattle been kept away until the Indians had learned something of civilized life, the whole history of California might have been different. Open communication with Sonora by more than one all land route from the Gila to the coast, would have been established; the missions, even under the stupid restrictions imposed by Spanish laws, would have found an outlet for their surplus products; the thousands of cattle which were subsequently slaughtered for their hides and tallow only; the hundreds of horses killed

only to get rid of them; and the surplus grain produced—which no doubt might have been largely increased—could have been sent to the northern provinces of New Spain, to better the condition of their Spanish settlers, and assist other missionaries in a wide range of country, who by means of it would have easily made a large Indian population tractable and peaceable, instead of continually hostile. The California missions, in turn, would have been supplied with much that they lacked to make their success more rapid and more complete than it was. Had this road been kept open, the dream of Gálvez, the king he served, and the missionaries and their superiors, of changing the savages of the country into peaceable colonists, might in a measure at least, have been realized. As it was they led them so far away from their old habits of life as to make it impossible for them to return to them, and not far enough toward those of civilization to enable them to practice them without the mild compulsion to which they had been accustomed. Their old tribal inclinations had not been destroyed; the times were changed and they had not changed with them. It was no longer possible for them to live by their old methods, and they were not fitted to live by the new without help. Their last condition was really worse than their first.

On August 21, 1782, Neve and Fages, with about sixty men, left San Gabriel for the Colorado, to begin the campaign against the Yumas, but before reaching the river they were met by a courier with papers showing that both had been promoted—Neve to be inspector general of the *Provincias Internas*, and Fages to be

governor of California. Before leaving San Gabriel, Neve had intrusted his adjutant, Nicholas Soler, with the responsibility of government during his absence, and had given him detailed instructions for the regulation of his conduct. These instructions he elaborated somewhat for the benefit of Fages. They pertained, for the most part, to matters with which enlightened government no longer meddles; but one provision added a new difficulty to the work of the missionaries. It discouraged, if it was not intended actually to prohibit, the use of soldiers to bring back fugitive neophytes to the missions. Another clause allowed two soldiers to accompany a padre actually going to administer the sacraments to Indians living outside the missions, though they were not to remain away over night; but no padre should accompany the soldiers if they should visit a ranchería. The effect of this might be, on the one hand, to leave a padre alone among hostiles, in case he should think it his duty to remain with a dying Indian over night; while on the other hand, the soldiers visiting the rancherías would be wholly unrestrained as to the vicious practices which the padres found it so difficult to prevent.

Neve never returned to California, which has reason to remember him as the greatest of its Spanish governors. His reglamento was its first code of laws. Its military establishments were governed by it throughout the entire period of their existence; that part of it pertaining to the pueblos was perhaps as well suited to the times and the stage of advancement of the settlers it was designed to bring to the territory, as it could be. If he had meddled less with the missions

and missionaries, or taken more pains to inform himself as to their condition and their needs, before attempting to make laws for their government, he would be far more favorably remembered.







